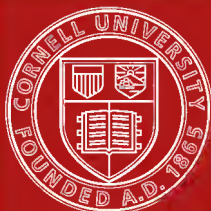




BR  
845  
H89  
C7



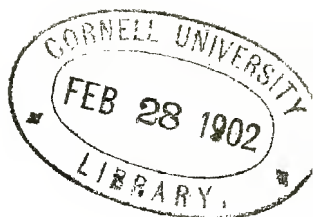
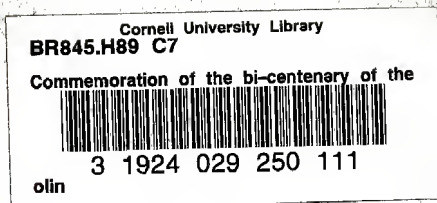


Cornell University  
Library

The original of this book is in  
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in  
the United States on the use of the text.





Huguenot Society of America.

---

COMMEMORATION

OF THE

BI-CENTENARY

OF THE

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes,

OCTOBER 22d, 1885.



Huguenot Society of America.

---

COMMEMORATION

OF THE

BI-CENTENARY

OF THE

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes,

OCTOBER 22d, 1885,

AT

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK:

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.  
1886.



# OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY, 1885.

---

## *President :*

HON. JOHN JAY.

---

## *Vice-Presidents :*

EDWARD F. DE LANCEY, for the City of New York.  
HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, for Staten Island, N. Y.  
HENRY M. LESTER, for New Rochelle, N. Y.  
HON. ALPHONSE T. CLEARWATER, for New Paltz, N. Y.  
HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D., for Boston, Mass.  
HON. RICHARD OLNEY, for Oxford, Mass.  
WILLIAM ELY, for Narragansett, R. I.  
CHARLES M. DU PUY, for Pennsylvania.  
HON. THOMAS F. BAYARD, LL.D., for Delaware.  
DANIEL RAVENEL, for Charleston, S. C.

---

## *Secretary :*

The Rev. ALFRED V. WITTMAYER.

---

## *Treasurer :*

MOREY HALE BARTOW.

---

## *Executive Committee :*

The Rev. BENJAMIN F. DE COSTA, D.D.,  
The Rev. ASHBEL G. VERMILYE, D.D.,  
JOSIAH H. GAUTIER, M.D.,  
PETER M. GALLAUDET,  
FREDERICK J. DE PEYSTER,

And the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer, *ex-officio*.







## COMMEMORATION.

Early in the beginning of the present year, the Executive Committee of the Huguenot Society of America determined to commemorate the Bi-Centenary Anniversary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which fell on the 22d day of October, 1885, by religious services, and an oration and addresses proper for the occasion. Desiring that all those of Huguenot origin, residing in the United States, whether members of the Society or not, should be represented at, and take part in, the commemoration, the Society, through its Executive Committee, directed the following invitation to be sent to gentlemen living in the original Huguenot centres or settlements :

NEW YORK CITY, June, 1885.

DEAR SIR : On Thursday, the twenty-second day of October, 1885, will occur the two hundredth anniversary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The descendants of the Huguenots in every country of Europe, including France itself, will commemorate that day by appropriate meetings, addresses and services.

The Huguenot Society of America, formed in 1883, to bring together the descendants of Huguenots in the United States, and to perpetuate the history and the memory of the sufferings, and virtues, and heroism, of their ancestors, will also commemorate this important historical event. A general meeting of its members and others of Huguenot descent, will be held in the City of New York, on the 22d day of October next, at which an address will be delivered by Professor Henry M. Baird, the author of the "History of the Rise of the Huguenots in France," with appropriate speeches or papers by other gentlemen.

The Society cordially invites all of Huguenot lineage throughout our country to unite with its members in this commemoration which it desires to make with more than usual solemnity. And it also cordially invites and requests them to join with the Society in forming a representative General Committee of gentlemen of French Protestant descent under the sanction of which the proceedings shall be held. Gentlemen whose residences may be too distant, or who, from any cause, may be unable to attend, can favor the Society with their approval and their names, and all who become members of the General Committee, can cast their votes by written proxy, if they so desire. The General Committee on the commemora-

tion will appoint from its own members a Sub-Committee of Arrangements who will perform the active duties that may be necessary. It is desired that the General Committee consist of eighteen members of the Society to be appointed by its President, Mr. John Jay, and two gentlemen from each of the original Huguenot settlements in America, fourteen in number, namely: New York City, Staten Island, Long Island, New Rochelle, New Paltz, Boston, New Oxford, Narragansett, Maine, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina and Florida, who may be willing to serve upon it, thus making the whole number forty-six.

The undersigned lay before you this plan of the proposed commemoration. Will you be willing to unite in it, and serve on the General Committee in the manner indicated? And will you kindly name two or three gentlemen in your vicinity, as you may think will be interested in the matter and be willing to serve in a similar capacity? The general expenses in New York of holding the meeting will be met by the Society. An early reply to the secretary will greatly oblige the Executive Committee.

Yours very truly,

EDWARD F. DE LANCEY,

*Vice-President for New York.*

A. V. WITTMAYER,

*Secretary.*

The response was immediate, and so gratifying that the President appointed at once the following General Committee of Arrangements, under whose auspices the commemoration was held :

*Members representing the Huguenot Society of America :*

JOSIAH H. GAÜTIER, M.D.

Rev. ASHBEL G. VERMILYE, D.D.

FREDERIC J. DE PEYSTER, Esq.

Rev. BENJAMIN F. DE COSTA, D.D.

PIERRE LORILLARD, Esq.

LE GRAND B. CANNON, Esq.

LAWRENCE TURNURE, Esq.

LOUIS MESIER, Esq.

Prof. DAVID D. DEMAREST, D.D.

Rt.-Rev. CHARLES TODD QUINTARD, S.T.D., LL.D.

Rev. CHARLES A. BRIGGS, D.D.

HENRY G. DE FOREST, Esq.

PETER W. GALLAUDET, Esq.

Rt.-Rev. EDMUND DE SCHWEINITZ, D.D.

WALTER S. GURNEE, Esq.

HENRY G. MARQUAND, Esq.

MOREY HALE BARTOW, Esq.

Rev. ALFRED V. WITTMAYER.

*Members representing the original Huguenot settlements in America :*

New York, N. Y.....	{ Hon. JOHN JAY. EDWARD F. DE LANCEY, Esq.
Staten Island, N. Y.....	{ CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, Esq. R. H. DISOSWAY, Esq.
Long Island, N. Y.....	{ AUGUSTUS RAPELYE, Esq. HENRY E. PIERREPONT, Jr., Esq.
New Rochelle, N. Y.....	{ HENRY M. LE COUNT, Esq. HENRY M. LESTER, Esq.
New Paltz, N. Y.....	{ ABRAM DU BOIS, M.D. RALPH LE FÈVRE, Esq.
Boston, Mass.....	{ Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP. GEORGE S. BOWDOIN, Esq.
New Oxford, Mass .....	{ RICHARD OLNEY, Esq. JOHN G. WHITTIER.
Narragansett, R. I.....	{ WILLIAM ELY, Esq. THOMAS M. POTTER, M.D.
Maine.....	{ Hon. HANNIBAL HAMLIN. Gen. JOSHUA L. CHAMBERLAIN.
Delaware.....	Hon. THOMAS F. BAYARD.
Pennsylvania.....	{ CHARLES M. DU PUY. WILLIAM R. VALLEAU, Esq.
Virginia.....	CHARLES M. MAURY, Esq.
Charleston, S. C.....	{ ROBERT N. GOURDIN, Esq. DANIEL RAVENEL, Esq.
Purysburg, S. C.....	{ CORNELIUS J. HUGUENIN, Esq. WILMOT G. DE SAUSSURE, Esq.
New Bordeaux, S. C.....	{ J. A. GIBERT, M.D. Rev. BENJAMIN ALLSTON.

The General Committee met on Friday, June 12th, in the City of New York, and organized by the election of the Hon. John Jay as Chairman and the Rev. A. V. Wittmeyer as Secretary. A general plan for the Commemoration was discussed and decided upon, and the following Sub-Committee was appointed to make the arrangements :

EDWARD F. DE LANCEY,  
JOSIAH H. GAUTIER, M.D.,  
LOUIS MESIER,  
CHARLES M. MAURY,  
HENRY M. LESTER,  
Rev. ALFRED V. WITTMAYER,  
MOREY HALE BARTOW.

The Chairman was then added *ex-officio*, and the Committee adjourned.

It was resolved that the Commemoration should be held in the French Church Du Saint-Esprit in West Twenty-second Street, New York.

This church is the same church organization founded in 1687 by the Huguenots who had fled from France at and after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, together with other French and Walloon Protestants who had come to New York prior to that event. It was named the *Église des réfugiés français à la Nouvelle York*, and their first church edifice was erected the following year in Marketfield Street, and in it, and the edifices which have followed it, services in the French tongue have been continued from that day to this.

The Marketfield Street edifice, to which a gallery was added in 1692, may then have seated from three to four hundred persons. In 1703, becoming too small, it was sold under the authority of an act of the Legislature, and a larger church was erected in 1704 in the street now called Pine Street, the corner-stone of which was laid by Lord Cornbury in July of that year. This church was used for 130 years, when the encroachments of commerce forced it to be sold in 1834, and a new edifice was erected in Franklin Street. This, in its turn, became surrounded by commercial buildings, and, after being injured by fire, its site was also sold, and the present beautiful church in West Twenty-second Street was erected.

In 1804 the congregation conformed to the Protestant Episcopal Church, under its present name, "Du Saint-Esprit." This church, that in Charleston, S. C., Trinity Church, New Rochelle, N. Y., which, under its Pastor Bondet, conformed to the Church of England in 1709, the Reformed Church of New Paltz, N. Y., and one or two others, are, it is believed, the only church organizations of the Huguenot Refugees that have continuously existed to this day in America.

The Rector of the church, the Rev. A. V. Wittmeyer, the Rev. Henri L. Granliénard, pastor of the French Presbyterian Church in New York, the distinguished gentlemen who were to take part in the services of the day, the Delegates from distant places, and the officers of the Society, met at the Rectory adjoining the church at 3 P. M. on the 22d of October, 1885, and, in procession, entered the church, which was filled with a crowded audience.

Divine service was conducted by the two clergymen above named in the French language.

At its conclusion President JAY delivered the following Introductory Address :

*Ladies and Gentlemen, Members of the Huguenot Society of America :*

To-day, for the first time since our ancestors landed on these shores, we gather from all parts of our united and happy country, with representatives from the original Huguenot centres, extending from Maine to South Carolina. We have come, after two hundred years, suitably to commemorate the infamous decree which, more than any other event in the history of France, scattered the Huguenots among the nations of the world.

The last meeting of the Huguenot Society of America was held at New Rochelle on the 24th. of August, the anniversary of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572, when the Pope of Rome, through his Nuncio, advised the King of France of the desire of His Holiness, "for the great glory of God and the greatest welfare of France, to see all the heretics of the kingdom extirpated."

The Royal assassin died at the age of twenty-four, leaving that desire of His Holiness unfulfilled. It was reserved for that most Christian and grand monarch, Louis XIV., more than a century later, to renew the persecution of the Huguenots by a crime of similar magnitude ; and with folly without a parallel, to lose for France, by means similarly atrocious, hundreds of thousands of those same heretics, who carried industry, intelligence and prosperity, light, truth and happiness, to other lands, including our own. Of the number lost to France, Sismondi computes the total number of emigrants at from 300,000 to 400,000 ; and thinks that an equal number perished in prison, on the scaffold, at the galleys, or in their attempts to escape.

So far as a moral estimate of the act is concerned, it has been well remarked that the revocation stands at so indefinite a height among the follies of statesmen that no exaggeration of facts can aggravate it.

You are familiar with the general outline of the historic events which made the rights and wrongs of the Huguenots so prominent a part of the history of France from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, to the persecution which preceded and followed the infamous edict of 1685, and which the orator of the day will recall to us. Charles IX., who had served as the tool of Rome in the first massacre, was succeeded by his brother, Henry III., weak, bigoted and vicious. He was assassinated in 1599, and then came Henry of Navarre who had lived at La Rochelle, the fountain-head of moral and religious influences, and who had been instructed in the

reformed religion by his mother, Jeanne d'Albret. Our schoolboys know how he had led the armies of the Huguenots, and how his name recalls the victories of Contres and Ivry. In 1598 Henry IV. signed the Edict of Nantes, which restored to the Huguenots civil and religious liberty. In one day, said Benoit, the disasters of fifty years were repaired. Henry died by the hand of Ravallac in 1610, and was succeeded by his son, Louis XIII., under the regency of his mother, Marie de Medicis, and Cardinal Richelieu, who took La Rochelle, reduced by famine after that famous siege marked by unrivalled heroism. At his death, in 1643, Louis XIV., in his fifth year, commenced, under the regency of Cardinal Mazarin, the long and much-lauded reign whose most memorable feature is recalled to-day by the civilized world: an act which left France desolated for years and damaged forever, and which, while satanic in its wickedness, still presents the question whether its præminence was greatest as a crime or a blunder.

Its terrific details teach us how low and worthless a type of civilization, rivalling in cruelty the worst of pagan barbarisms, may exist beneath the meretricious splendor of a court, when under the pretence of Christianity a frail mortal invested with command usurps the omnipotence of God, and dares to prohibit and destroy the freedom of conscience and worship which he has bestowed upon man. The spectacle in this case is now seen by the light of history, which the new dogma of papal infallibility, and that which affirms that Roman Pontiffs have never transgressed the limits of their power, challenging and defying the annals of the past, has rendered more intense and searching: and which is being invested with new interest as honorable Roman Catholics expose the attempts of Jesuits to avoid the responsibility of their crimes in the past by falsifying history. Here Louis, exhorted by the Bishop of Meaux to persevere in his bad faith and infernal outrages toward his Huguenot subjects, presents a parallel to Charles pressed by the Pope's Nuncio to leave no Huguenot in France. The great Louis, like the wretched Charles, was a royal murderer. He had arrogantly said, *L'état c'est moi*, and he was at once cruel, cowardly, and a bigot, swayed alternately by his mistresses and his Jesuit confessors, who taught him that he was to atone for his own scandalous immoralities by inflicting the most merciless cruelties upon the innocent victims of their malice.

The provisions of the new edict, fiend-like in their brutality, extended from the highest to the lowest. A single provision given by



Mr. Smiles shows the depth of degradation to which Jesuit teaching had reduced the court. Protestant servants were forbidden to serve either Protestant or Roman Catholic employers; and women servants violating this law were to be flogged and branded with the *fleur-de-lis*, the emblazonment of the most Christian king.

Of the Huguenots dispersed by Louis XIV. we learned much valuable detail from Browning, Weiss and Smiles, and now we are indebted to Mr. Poole for his learned and interesting book, written after a study of the twenty-eight volumes of the very valuable journal of the Historical Society of French Protestantism and of the special histories of the Refugees by Koenen, Berg and Dresselhuys in Holland, by Moerikofer in Switzerland, by Burn, Cooper, and Agnew in England, and by the treatises of Lièvre, Arnaud, Rossier, Waddington, and Delmas in France. The last-named author was the good old Huguenot Pasteur Delmas, of La Rochelle, President of the Consistoire, and known and honored by all Americans who have had the happiness of seeing him in that ancient home of their fathers. His work, "L'Eglise Reformée de La Rochelle: Etude Historique," is one of authority, especially as regards the prosperity of La Rochelle under Henry IV., the siege, and the heroic Mayor Jean Guiton, and the history of the Reformed Church in that heroic town from that time to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and from that period to our own day.

Still later is "The Huguenots," Parts I. and II., the last published, July, 1885, by Captain G. Lambert, F.S.A., a director of the French Protestant Hospital of London, a valuable addition to Huguenot history, with military statistics and biographical sketches. Mr. Poole, in an interesting chapter on the power of the Refugees and its reflection upon France, after quoting Ancillon and the Marshal de Vauban on the hundreds of officers and thousands of soldiers—"of the best of the realm," and "better seasoned than the Catholics," whom the edict of recall scattered among Louis' foes, showed that their military influence was insignificant by comparison with their moral power, first shown in the writing of pamphlets. "They formulated the articulate phrasing of liberal opinion," and M. Ancillon attributes to them the revival of the Dutch allegiance to William of Orange, the resistance to James II., and the European union against Louis XIV. It is easy to understand their skill and power in moulding public opinion, when we read that their theological colleges were unsurpassed for learning and efficiency, and that the degrees given by their universities at Saumur, Sedan, Montauban,



Nismes, Montpellier, and Die, were recognized by the universities of England as of equal value with their own.

The historians of the Huguenot Refugees, after illustrating these points, showing the warm reception accorded to Huguenot soldiers and sailors in Russia, Brandenburg, Holland, and England, may show that in England, where the Huguenot Society of London is entering with spirit on its pious labors, the influence of the Huguenots in forming the public opinion that called William of Orange is now acknowledged, and that, as Mr. Poole remarks, the decisive part so nobly borne by the refugee Huguenots at the battle of the Boyne is a commonplace of history.

He may then turn to their men, noted for learning, scholarship, science and literary ability, not only in pamphlets and gazettes, but in philosophy and history, as shown by Bayle, Papin, Desaguliers and De Moivre, who are spoken of as the forerunners of an illustrious company of scientific workers claiming descent from the exiles of the recall; to whom are to be added Savery and Dollond, with the Huguenot historians, Isaac de Larrey and Paul de Rapin, Limiers, Benoit, Basnage, Beausobre, and Lenfant. They naturally recur to the exceptional skill of the Huguenots in the arts and manufactures: in horticulture and fruit culture, in manufacture of silk, velvets, brocades, ribbons, cloth of silver and gold, linen stuff, bleached cloth, sail cloth, paper of all kinds, to that used for the most luxurious editions; leather, hats, fabrications of iron and steel, watches, watch-glasses, crystals, bead-work, enamelling on copper, silver, and gold; looking-glasses, piano-fortes, jewelry, engraving, gem-cutting, shoemaking, modelling in wax, portrait painting, and sculpture. Nor can they forget that the foreign business of France came almost entirely into their hands, under the wise rule of the enlightened Colbert. But above all these things, as we recall the edict of Louis and the compulsory expatriation of our ancestors, we remember with affectionate pride the personal traits which made them welcome in every land to which they went.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, who gave them room for a chapel in the undercroft of the cathedral, where after three hundred years the Huguenot Service is still performed, called them "the gentle and profitable strangers." The Spectator spoke of "the engaging joyousness which no tyranny could quench," and "the courteous grace which could gain an entrance by its modest tact everywhere."

When the Pope denounced England for receiving the Huguenots, Bishop Jewell answered that they had left Flanders and France,

not for adultery or theft or treason, but for the profession of the Gospel.

"They beg not," he said, "in our streets, nor crave any thing at our hands but to breathe our air and see our sun. They labor truthfully, they live sparingly. They are good examples of virtue, travail, faith, and patience. The towns in which they abide are happy, for God doth follow them with his blessings."

As we recall the edict of Louis and its infamous enforcement under the urging of his Jesuit confessor, there is one fact which we should not forget as marking the broad distinction which existed then, and which exists to-day, between the Jesuits and others of the Roman Catholic communion.

Some of the French clergy of that Church, shocked by the frightful cruelty of the orders, refrained from putting them in force, and the King commanded his minister, Dr. Portchartain, to address a circular to the Bishops, charging them with want of zeal in the work, and ordering them to require the curates to enforce his orders. The Abbé Jean Bion was moved to tears at the cruelties inflicted on the slaves at the galleys, and said : "The blood preached to me, and I felt myself a Protestant."

You will now, ladies and gentlemen, have the pleasure of listening to one who is admirably qualified by his studies to illustrate this whole subject, and I have the pleasure of introducing to you the Reverend Dr. Henry M. Baird.

Professor HENRY M. BAIRD, D.D., LL.D., of the University of the City of New York, then delivered the historical oration on

## THE EDICT OF NANTES AND ITS RECALL.

*Mr. President and Members of the Huguenot Society of America :*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN : Two hundred years ago, this day, the "chambre des vacations" of the Parliament of Paris proceeded to enter upon the records of the supreme judicature of France, and thus formally to promulgate as law, a brief but weighty document signed by the king four or five days earlier. The law purported to be simply the recall of an edict that had been issued, eighty-seven years before, for the protection of the adherents of the "pretended Reformed religion," an edict now declared to have come to be of little or no use, inasmuch as the greater and better part of the aforesaid adherents had embraced Roman Catholicism. The Protestant faith, so it was represented, had well nigh ceased to exist in France. It was appropriate, therefore, that its places of worship should be closed, that its ministers should be banished, that its open profession should be forbidden.

The monarch who had set his hand to this revocatory law blessed Heaven for having graciously permitted him to be the instrument in so pious a work. The grave and learned judges hastened to lend their authority to the publication of a document that was, within the briefest term, to secure the complete religious unity of the kingdom. Joy and hopefulness were depicted on every countenance. Courtiers extolled the achievement to the skies. Mitred bishops and archbishops lauded its author as a new and greater Constantine, a new and greater Theodosius; his work, as the most brilliant episode of a brilliant reign. As for Louis himself, his complacency was undisturbed by doubts of the merit or the policy of his course. "The king," wrote Madame de Maintenon, "is very highly gratified at having put the finishing stroke to the great task of reuniting the heretics to the Church. Père de la Chaise has promised that it will not cost a drop of blood, and M. de Louvois says the same thing."

Ladies and gentlemen, two centuries have elapsed since then. The august Court of Parliament is no more. Its very name has passed away, together with many another relic of the ancient régime. The proud monarchy of the Bourbons has shared the fate of the older monarchies of the Valois, the Carlovingians and the Merovingians, giving place to another and more popular form of government.

But not more striking the change effected by time in the civil fabric, than is the revolution in public sentiment regarding the Edict of October, 1685. The Revocation, hailed at Fontainebleau and in Paris as the most auspicious event of the age, has come to be denounced—not by a stray voice here or there in Christendom, but by the well-nigh unanimous consent of the civilized world, as a crime against humanity, as a disastrous blunder, affecting not the fortunes of a single generation of Frenchmen, but projecting its baneful influence through all the intervening years, even to the very France of to-day.

Speaking on such an anniversary, before a society composed of descendants of those heroic men whom the intolerant legislation of Louis the Fourteenth drove from their native land, to seek on another soil, and even beyond the broad ocean, the liberty, civil and religious, that was denied them at La Rochelle and on the sunny banks of the Loire and Garonne, I have no choice open to me as to my subject; I must needs speak to you of the beneficent Edict of Nantes, whose well contrived provisions insured to the Huguenots, through the greater part of a century, a measure of peace until then unknown, and of the Repeal that robbed France of the best part of its population and drove the Protestants abroad to enrich the rest of Christendom with the fruits of their skill, industry and material wealth.

And let no one be surprised should I have to dwell even more upon the Edict of the greatest of the Bourbons than upon the ruthless deed of his grandson. The work of construction is always slow and laborious; the act of destruction is generally as rapid as it is disastrous. The stately and sumptuous temple destined to be consigned in an instant to the flames by some mad enthusiast, demanded long years for its erection. Not a curve in any one of its many columns, not a line or fillet in its entablature but was the embodiment in marble of the idea of beauty gradually evolved in the mind of its architect. Not a figure in metope or pediment but reflected the thought of a sculptor, the rival of Pheidias or Praxiteles. To trace these genesis of these noble conceptions is a task at once more grateful and more exacting, than to relate how it was that a worse than Vandal first imagined, then dared to put into execution, his ignoble design of gaining celebrity by the ruin of works of genius. It is indeed only by measuring the splendor of the creations of gigantic intellects that we can fully realize the stupendous folly of those

whose ambition soars no higher than to attain infamous notoriety as the destroyers of all that is most grand in human history.

The Edict of Nantes, which Louis the Fourteenth's spiritual advisers importuned him to revoke, was the most successful of a number of attempts made to adjust the relations between the Protestant and Roman Catholic religions and their adherents. Published almost at the very close of the sixteenth century, it was the expression of the highest wisdom of that age of titanic conflict—the matured fruit of the experience of the nearly fourscore years that had passed since the Reformation had first been preached to the people of France.

In an age of general awakening, the religious awakening was by far the most notable occurrence. I cannot agree with those in whose view the uprising of the human mind against the superstitions of the Church is but a secondary movement, little more than a particular development or application of the general Renaissance. Great as was the influence of the Revival of Letters, much as the Revival of Letters undoubtedly contributed to facilitate the progress of the “new doctrines,” as they were called, the Reformation itself, so far as the masses of the people were concerned (and they constituted the substantial strength of the Reformation) was a religious movement, called forth by the yearning to satisfy a recognized religious thirst. The weavers and other artisans of Meaux, among whom the Reformation gathered its first converts, like the recruits later gained at Nismes, at Montpellier, at La Rochelle, on the plains of Guyenne, in the mountain valleys of Béarn, were attracted not by the eloquence of orators formed upon Ciceronian models, not by the poets and prose writers that illustrated the court of Francis the First; but by the discovery of a faith having its roots in the infallible oracles of God's word, and dealing with the individual soul of man.

Herein lay the strength of the body of religionists, who, about the middle of this initial period of their history, began to be known as the Huguenots.

Unfortunately, the movement came to be complicated by the admixture of other elements. Patriots that saw the reins of government seized by usurping hands, during the minorities of Francis the Second and Charles the Ninth, threw in their lot with it. Princely families, too, that saw in the Huguenot support the most promising means of securing their rightful claims, or of realizing their more doubtful dreams of advancement, were glad to be allowed to espouse a cause that had so good a following. Literary men and

philosophers might find the tendencies of the party more congenial to their tastes than the tendencies of the opposite side. But, in itself, the Huguenot movement was primarily religious, not patriotic, not political, not purely intellectual. Hence it was, ladies and gentlemen, that there manifested itself a steadiness of motion, a resoluteness of purpose, a constancy of aim, a patient endurance (as seeing Him who is invisible), which, in all periods of Huguenot history, has been its grand characteristic.

At times the movement enjoyed a certain measure of court favor ; although that was fickle and short-lived. At times, it numbered powerful allies without the kingdom and important associates inside of the kingdom among the great nobles. But, whether these remained faithful or deserted, made little substantial difference in the end. There are depths of the ocean, we are told, which the most violent of the storms that lash the surface do not reach or disturb.

Ladies and gentlemen, how many times has the Huguenot party been reported to be dead—or, if not quite dead, to be so near decease that preliminary measures might properly be taken to administer upon its effects? So many times that I should be sorry to have to count them.

Of course, the Huguenots were dead, beyond hope of a resurrection, when the knife was drawn across their throats at the St. Bartholomew's Massacre, when poor, simple Charles, goaded to the murderous deed, had sworn that not one Huguenot should live to remind him of what he had done. But, a year passes, and this same Charles is signing a treaty of peace with La Rochelle, whose Huguenot garrison has defied all his attempts to take the city. And, on the first anniversary of St. Bartholomew's Massacre, the Huguenots of Languedoc are quietly convened in their political assembly at Montauban, demanding of the Crown freedom of worship, everywhere throughout France, without distinction of place.

The Huguenots were again *in extremis*, some ten or eleven years later. Henry the Third had begun to pursue with consistency a plan that would infallibly weed out every professed Huguenot from his court. To not a single favorite would he give an office, a pension, a dignity, unless his Roman Catholic orthodoxy was beyond question.

The scheme worked well. Protestantism became marvellously unpopular. Aspirants for position flocked to the established church. Politicians, making no account of the people, and judging others by



themselves, saw the end of the matter close at hand. Before the expiration of four years—so short was the grace allowed—before the expiration of four years, in the opinion of Dr. Cavriana, the sagacious envoy of Florence, “Huguenotry” would be so thoroughly a thing of the past, as not to have left even the memory of its ever having existed.

And so it was, time and again. The Huguenots might be persecuted, attacked, defeated. From their massacres, from their battles, from their very routs, they sprang up again, apparently not less numerous, certainly not less devoted, not less hopeful of ultimate success, than before. “It seems a wonderful thing, though men do not always recognize it,” wrote a contemporary of the great massacre, “that, in the issue of so many wars, the Huguenots always came out inferior in battle, yet ever obtained the object for which they fought ; so that, even when they were vanquished, they may be said to have been the victors.”

Ladies and gentlemen, it was the fact that the struggle was a struggle to vindicate religious rights, to assure for themselves the clear liberty to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience, that rendered the Huguenots a party which it was impossible to crush, that carried them safe through so many perils, that enabled them, at last, on the 13th of April, 1598, to secure the memorable law in their behalf known as the Edict of Nantes.

A man then sat upon the throne of France of so marked a personality, that neither his character nor his achievements will, so far as we can now foresee, ever drop out of human thought—a man of singular strength and of singular weakness—a compound of rare virtues and extraordinary vices—keen of perception, acute, persevering, patient of fatigue, buoyant, courageous, affable, witty, a cheery companion, impetuous, forgetful of danger, a leader in perilous enterprises, with a jest for every emergency, with an encouraging word or look for each of his followers, a general, in short, for whom not one of his Huguenot soldiers but would have deemed it a privilege to lay down life ; a man, on the other hand, of excessive fondness for pleasure, a very Samson, who more than once allowed his locks to be shorn, who more than once suffered himself to be robbed of his strength to gratify a Delilah ; selfish, even where he was most liberal ; calculating, where he appeared most disinterested ; oblivious of injuries done to him by his enemies, quite as oblivious of the services of his friends ; fickle in his love, whether to man or to woman ; not incapable of suffering a discarded mistress and the mother of



his child to die of want and neglect, within a stone's throw of his castle, or of arranging beforehand for the unmerited discomfiture in unequal controversy of a brave and loyal Duplessis Mornay, when the discomfiture would inure to some fancied advantage of the king.

Such was Henry of Navarre, Henry the Fourth of France, Henry the Great, as his admiring subjects not improperly surnamed him—so grand a man, in some aspects, that we wonder that his character should have been marred by such blemishes—so faulty a man, from other points of view, that we marvel that he could ever have been esteemed magnanimous—an enigma to his contemporaries, scarcely less an enigma to succeeding generations. Not so firm nor so courageous as his cousin, the Prince of Condé, on the eventful day of the Parisian Matins, it was yet the fortune of Henry of Navarre to maintain steadfastly, during the last thirteen years of the reign of his namesake of Valois, the cause of the proscribed Huguenots against the royal armies and the machinations of the “Holy League.”

This was the monarch who, four years after his accession to the throne of France, suddenly threw himself into the arms of the Roman Catholic party, by abjuring the faith of his childhood and submitting to the dogmas professed by the majority of his subjects, in the abbey church of St. Denis.

The act, so far-reaching in its effects, had not been altogether unlooked for. To the repeated summons addressed to him by his predecessor and by the partisans of the Holy League, he had returned answers not, indeed, devoid of noble sentiment, but, nevertheless, containing some expressions that have a suspicious look in view of subsequent occurrences. “I am not obstinate,” he had said. “I am ready to be instructed. If, without being persuaded, I were to renounce the religion in which I was born and nourished, I should only prove myself to be a man altogether destitute of religion.” Some sage diplomatists, reading such professions between the lines, so early as in 1585, declared themselves convinced that the King of Navarre must soon become a Roman Catholic. “God grant” exclaimed one of them, “that he may not be like those who from Jews have become Christians, few of whom are found to be of any worth.” But, strange to say, the Huguenots, who, if they had their besetting sins, had been taught by experience not to err through over-credulity, did not take the alarm. In fact, Duplessis Mornay penned without suspicion several of the declarations in question—Duplessis Mornay, one of the noblest and purest souls that ever lived. Such Huguenots as he, however, construed the profession of

a willingness to be instructed in its best sense. They would have been only too glad to have the merits of the two systems, between which Henry was called to choose, discussed in a fair council; it mattered not whether it were national or universal. With honest John Milton, they had no misgivings respecting the issue; "though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be among them. . . . Let her and Falsehood grapple who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?"

Let us give Henry the Fourth credit for at least sparing the Huguenots the appearance of having been put to the worse. Once having made up his mind to sacrifice his convictions to the supposed demands of public or selfish policy—to use a cynical phrase, often falsely ascribed to him, having arrived at the conclusion that "Paris was certainly worth a Mass"—he took care to invest his abjuration with only just so much of the appearance of a religious proceeding, as would suffice to satisfy decorum. A short parley with a few select bishops, and all was over. The king declared himself satisfied. Henry was himself no mean theologian—a Huguenot brought up in daily association with pastors of the stamp of the chaplains of the court of his mother and of his own court, could scarcely fail to be an adept in controversy. "O, you are not the king to need to be instructed!" said one of these brave chaplains, Gabriel d'Amours, by name. "You are a greater theologian than I who am your minister. Vous n'avez faite de *science*—mais vous avez un peu faite de *conscience*!" "Ah!" said the same man, "If you listened to the voice of *Gabriel d'Amours* your minister, as you listen to *Gabrielle votre amoureuse*—your mistress—I should always see you a generous king and triumphant over your enemies."

Henry's lack of conscience was the fruitful source of untold mischief to France and to the world. I doubt much whether so deep a wound would have been inflicted upon the Huguenot cause, had the king been won after a protracted conference in which he might have been supposed by thinking men to be brought over through the superior force of argument, as was inflicted upon the universal conscience of mankind by so palpable a fraud as that enacted at St. Denis. *He* perpetrates no slight crime who, by simple precept, leads to the confusion of moral distinctions, who calls good evil, or evil good, or hides both under the mantle of expediency. But the man who, not in the abstract, nor by words alone, but in a great and conspicuous action, teaches by example, more pregnant than bare speech, that Truth is of little importance as compared with selfish

Advantage, is so much the more dangerous a corruptor of his species, as his station in life is more exalted than that of his fellows.

Had this infidelity to principle been exhibited by an imbecile monarch, by a Valois, by one of Catharine de' Medici's puny brood, the mischief had been less. But it was Henry the Great, who had allowed himself to be vanquished, at the very moment when he showed plainly enough that it only depended upon his will to vanquish—who in the careless way in which he handled his rapier disclosed just enough of his skill to prove that, had he been so disposed, he could at a single thrust have had his opponent at his mercy ; it was Henry the Great that affected to treat as a jest solemn doctrines that divided Christendom entire into two hostile camps, doctrines for their belief in or rejection of which thousands of earnest men on either side had not been reluctant to lay down their very lives ; it was Henry the Great that stopped the theologians his instructors, when they would have discussed the matter of Prayers for the Dead with the flippant words : “ Let us drop the *Requiem* ! I am not yet dead, and, what is more, I have no inclination to die.” Just as when the Protestants came, the next winter, to ask him to restore the famous Edict of *January* so called, he could turn them off with the paltry exclamation, “ So ! ho ! Are we not in *February* ? ”

“ One cannot change one's religion as one's shirt,” he had said upon a certain occasion. But now, on the most conspicuous stage in the world, he had given evidence to the contrary ; only he had shown that the change must be effected to secure some substantial gain. “ Are you not a Huguenot ! Have I not seen you at the *prêche* ? ” asked Henry of a gentleman whom he met, a few months later. “ Yes, sire,” was the reply. “ How, then, is it that you are going to Mass to-day ? ” — “ Because, sire, you go there.” — “ Ah ! ” rejoined the witty monarch, “ I see how the case stands. You have doubtless some crown which you would be glad to secure.”

Among all the tragedies ever enacted in France, the incident of St. Denis, on the 25th day of July, 1593, must rank as one of the most tragic. Principle slain by expediency, convictions sacrificed on the altar of ambition—it was a drama containing every necessary element of pathos. Sometimes Henry himself gave signs of appreciating the nature of the step he was taking. At least once, during the course of the pretended instruction, he interrupted the prelates with the remark : “ You do not content me fully on this point. You do not satisfy me as I desired and as I had promised myself that I

should be satisfied by your instruction. Here, then, I place my soul this day in your hands. I pray you, take good care. For where you make me enter, thence I shall go out only through death. This I swear and protest." Tears were in his eyes as he said it.

That Henry attempted to justify to himself the unjustifiable step he took, as best he might, there is no room for doubt. The Huguenots had never denied the possibility of salvation within the pale of the Church of Rome. Henry took advantage of the admission. He even asserted to some of the pastors that came to remonstrate with him, that it was for their sakes that he was taking the momentous step. He would be the reformer of existing abuses, the restorer of unity. "I am entering the house," said he, "that I may cleanse it." But if such assurances did not satisfy the minds of the men whom he addressed, neither did they quiet his own better nature, which from time to time rose up in rebellion against his hypocritical act. It was no unmeaning impulse that led the king, when occasionally the ministers of a religion he had abjured came to visit him, not to dismiss them without first requesting them to pray for him. It was no freak of a disordered intellect that made him, when ill, send for his trusty Huguenot adviser, Agrippa d'Aubigné, and submit to him the anxious inquiry, whether he thought that his master had committed the unpardonable sin. It was no accident that, when he chanced to pass through the rooms of his more constant sister, Catharine of Bourbon, where the company were engaged in singing some of those grand old psalms of Marot and Beza, the king, much to the disgust of his suite, stopped to join in with his own voice. The Huguenot battle psalm,

"Que Dieu se montre seulement,"

or that other chant they sang just before the decisive charge at Coutras—

"La voici, l'heureuse journée,"

Henry would not be likely ever to hear with feelings unmoved.

I should be glad if I could fully concur in the representation so generally made that Henry the Fourth's native sense of justice led him to hasten to concede to his old associates in arms the Edict of Nantes. Unfortunately, it was not until five years after the Abjuration, and nine years after his accession, that Henry published this fundamental law. During the long interval, I am sorry to say, he showed himself vastly more solicitous for his own undisputed sway over France than for the vindication of that religious liberty for which he had so many years been contending with ceaseless pro-

testations of devotion. He lost not an hour, after coming to the throne, in assuring his Roman Catholic subjects most solemnly that their religion should not be interfered with; but he was in no haste to relieve his fellow Protestants, even while he continued to profess their creed, of their hardships and disabilities.

The Protestants had been left by his predecessor a proscribed portion of the population of France. By one edict of Henry the Third (Nemours, July, 1585) all exercise of the "new pretended Reformed religion"—so it stigmatized—was prohibited on pain of confiscation of property and death. By another edict three years later (the "Edict of Union," July, 1588), not only was this intolerant legislation maintained, but Henry the Third himself took, and compelled all his subjects to take, an oath for the extermination of all heresies and heretics condemned by the Council of Trent. And these two edicts of July, as they were called, remained in force at the accession of Henry the Fourth, except, in so far as their execution had been suspended for the term of six months by reason of a truce which the logic of events (more forcible even than the arguments of religious hate) had compelled the late monarch to make with Henry of Navarre.

Truth, we are told, is often stranger than fiction. For two years the new Huguenot king did nothing to better the condition of his fellow Protestants. He did indeed prolong the "truce," but the sword still hung over their heads, suspended by this slender thread. At last, when, in 1591, he tardily repealed the proscriptive "edicts of July" and reaffirmed the more tolerant Edict of 1577, it was only with the clause appended:—"All this provisionally, until it may please God to grant us the grace to reunite our subjects by the establishment of a good peace in our kingdom and to provide for the matter of religion, in pursuance of the oath taken by us at our accession to the crown."

Seven long years more did Henry the Fourth permit the Huguenots to languish in a condition worse, upon the whole, than their condition under previous and persecuting monarchs. Meantime he was relentlessly pursuing his object of overthrowing the Holy League; where arms would not compass his ends, employing money, rewards and honors to break down the opposition of obstinate rebels. Edict followed edict, in close succession, containing favorable terms for the great nobles that had espoused the side of the League. Not one in which the rebellious subject was not placated by excessive grants of honors, dignities and offices, accompanied by gifts of



money draining the treasury and imposing fresh burdens upon a people already driven to the verge of despair for the means of life. Not one, of which a cardinal article was not the prescription that no exercise of the Protestant religion should be tolerated in certain cities, towns or districts. There seemed to be a prospect that, by successive exclusions, Protestantism would soon not have a place for its foot to rest upon, between the British Channel and the Mediterranean Sea.

Huguenot endurance had become proverbial. "Patience de Huguenot" was a virtue carried almost to an extreme. Yet even this, at length, showed signs of giving out. "The League," said the Protestants, "secures everything it asks. Neither royal court nor tribunals of justice deny anything to its adherents. The parable of the Prodigal Son is nothing, compared to the treatment they receive. At least, after having killed for them the fatted calf, let not the rope be left about our necks, as a reward of our fidelity." The Huguenots began to talk of electing a new "Protector" of their churches, in lieu of him who was now lost to them. Happily, before matters went too far, the King did what he should have done nine years before. He appointed a commission to settle upon the wisest method of adjusting the relations of the Protestants to the body politic—a commission honored by having among its members the eminent historian and jurist, Jacques Auguste de Thou—and published to the world the results of its mature deliberations in the famous law, signed by him in the ancient capital of Brittany (April 13, 1598).

The Edict of Nantes was not a perfect law. It was based upon no ideal theory of the proper relation of the various religions subsisting in a single commonwealth. Within a much narrower compass than this edict, with its ninety-two public articles, and its fifty-six secret articles, and the accompanying "Brevet," and a further set of secret articles—within a much narrower compass than this, and in much more distinct and satisfactory terms, might the great doctrine of complete religious equality have been enunciated. But the sixteenth century knew no such doctrine. In every country of Christendom there was one established and exclusive Church. It might be so-called Catholic, or so-called Greek, or so-called Reformed—it was the one Church standing in a definite relation to the State which no other Church could contemporaneously sustain to it. As to other forms of religion, their standing varied in different States. Some States utterly proscribed, others extended a more or

less liberal toleration to dissidents. None placed all religions upon one common level of liberty, and extended to all an equal protection. Let us be fair in our judgments. Let the Edict of Nantes be viewed in the light of the age that gave it birth, and not in the light of the age in which we live. Thus viewed it is a marvel in the history of the development of political thought.

So far as the guarantee of personal liberty is concerned, nothing more could have been desired by the Huguenots. They might freely inhabit any part of the King's dominions, without inquiry into their faith, or molestation on account of it, or constraint to do anything contrary to it. They might be admitted freely to all secular offices of trust, honor or emolument. For their special protection against the partiality of members of parliaments and other courts, peculiar tribunals—the "chambers of the Edict"—were instituted, with a bench in part of Protestant judges. But here the principle of equality ceased. In the matter of public worship, the Protestants were restricted to certain places. Nobles enjoying the widest jurisdiction might have worship on their estates for all comers; inferior nobles, for their own families and a limited number of friends and retainers. Certain cities—two in a bailiwick, and places where the Huguenots had recently maintained worship—were permitted to have their Protestant *temples*, where every one was welcome.

This was not, indeed, everything that could have been desired; but it was much. It might not put a place of worship conveniently at hand for every Huguenot—he might be compelled to go long distances, ten, twenty or thirty miles, to enjoy the coveted privilege; but, at least, he could reach such a place. And so, for the next four-score years, the kingdom of France continually beheld the singular but edifying spectacle of great companies of Huguenot worshippers, men and women, girls and boys, old and young, even to the babe carried in its mother's arms, cheerfully and thankfully making their way, over hill and through dale, or by stream and river, walking, or on horseback, or in wagons, or by boat, to the spot where the *prêche* was to take place—great companies of worshippers, I say, that started from their homes, it may be, early on Saturday evening, and reached them, on their return, late on Monday morning, and that whiled away the time and made the tedious way grow short (often to the great scandal of certain inhabitants of the villages through which they passed) by singing with a loud voice the harmonies of those psalms every line of which was bound up in their personal history and experience.



Sooth to say, the Edict that gave such satisfaction to the Huguenot, did not enkindle the most pleasant of emotions in the breast of every one else. Pope Clement the Eighth was particularly disquieted, as Cardinal d'Ossat, the French ambassador, relates. Sending for d'Ossat, as soon as he heard that the Edict had been registered by the Parliament of Paris, the pontiff expressed in forcible terms his disappointment that Henry the Fourth had not taken advantage of the opposition of the judges, as a convenient pretext for dropping the law, his disgust that the king had manifested as much anxiety to have the edict received, as apathy respecting the recognition of the Decrees of the Council of Trent, which he had pledged himself to support. "The Edict," burst forth Clement, "is the most accursed that can be imagined, whereby liberty of conscience is granted to everybody ; which is the worst thing in the world. In addition to this, the worship of that damnable sect is permitted throughout the kingdom ; and the heretics are introduced into the Courts of Parliament, and admitted to all charges, honors and dignities, so as henceforth to oppose everything that might turn to the advantage of the Catholic religion, and so as to promote and further heresy. Moreover, I see that the King has made this Edict at a time when he is at peace both within and without his realm ; so that it cannot be said that he has been compelled to make it."

The last words are a valuable admission, coming from such a source. In contradiction to the assertions, the labored arguments, even, of subsequent apologists for the Revocation, anxious to prove, if possible, that the Edict of Nantes was a law extorted from Henry the Fourth by force, and therefore to be repealed, we have the testimony of Pope Clement the Eighth—and far be it from us to deny his infallibility in this utterance, at least—to the effect that the Edict was given of the king's own free will. "It cannot be said,"—I repeat the pope's words, and I credit them with being quite as true as had they been pronounced *ex cathedra*—"It cannot be said that he has been forced to make it." Yes ! the Edict of Nantes was no distasteful measure wrung from unwilling hands ; but a tribute, which Henry himself felt to be just and deserved, rendered to the fidelity of a body of men whose unimpeachable patriotism had been the king's main assistance in making his way, through great difficulties, to the throne of France.

Over against Clement's angry denunciations, I shall be pardoned if I place a brief encomium of the Edict of Nantes ; particularly as it shall be from no less a personage than the monarch who subse-

quently repealed it. I admit that Louis the Fourteenth figures in a strange garb when he appears as a eulogist of the great law for the protection of the Huguenots ; yet as such must I introduce him here. In his declaration of July 18th, 1656—Louis the Fourteenth was then no mere child, but a young man of nearly eighteen years of age who had, four or five years before, pronounced his own majority—the “grand monarque” used this strong expression : “We have always considered the Edict of Nantes as a singular work of the perfect prudence of Henry the Great, our grandfather.”

And Louis the Fourteenth was right !

The Roman Catholics of France had been deprived of none of their privileges or immunities ; while the Huguenots rejoiced in the possession of sufficient freedom to forget that they had as yet failed to obtain everything they might justly have claimed. “Our churches,” said they, “by the grace of God, and under the benefit of the king’s edicts, enjoy a condition which they are not inclined to change. The Gospel is freely preached, and not without progress. Justice is dispensed to us. We have places where we can take shelter from the storm. If any infractions [of the edict] occur, our complaints are heard, often reparation is made. We might wish that in many localities our places of worship were nearer or more convenient ; that we had a greater part in the distribution of honors and charges ; and, possibly, this would be neither without its advantages for the king, nor unmerited by our past services. But these are things to be desired, not to be exacted. To set the world in commotion for this, even in the slightest degree, we are not at all inclined. God knows the progress He wishes to grant to His Church, and He has the means in His own hand. To us it belongs not to rush forward, but to draw back from passing the bounds of piety and justice.”

Thus, while Clement the Eighth raved at “the most accursed Edict,” which conceded to a “most damnable sect,” “the right of liberty of conscience, which is the worst thing in the world”—the more equable Duplessis Mornay was setting forth the more truly Christian contentment with which, under the benign reign of Henry the Fourth, the Huguenots settled themselves down to the enjoyment of the unwonted sweets of peace.

But kings, good or otherwise, do not live forever. The murderous blade of Ravallac cut short the career of Henry the Great in the very midst of his days, in the very midst of brilliant plans of

military achievement, possibly of a reconstruction of the map of Europe. Every French patriot felt the assassin's thrust as if the dagger had pierced his own heart. None, however, had better reasons for mourning than the Huguenots.

Between the death of Henry the Fourth and the Révocation of the Edict of Nantes by his grandson, the interval is exactly three-quarters of a century. Of this period the first two-thirds constitute the most tranquil portion of the history of the Huguenots; the remaining twenty-five years exhibit the gradual approach of the final blow struck at their existence.

It is true that within the former part fell a period of partial civil war, the reduction of the City of La Rochelle and the total destruction, through Cardinal Richelieu's policy, of the political influence of the Huguenots as a party in the State. But, despite this, and despite a multitude of subsequent acts of oppression which, to a body of people less accustomed to endure the malice of their enemies might well have been seemed sufficient ground for resistance, if not for revolution, those were the *best*, the halcyon days of Protestantism in France. They were the days when learned and eloquent preachers held forth to vast congregations at Charenton and elsewhere; when spacious edifices were filled by attentive and devout worshippers; when the educational institutions of the Huguenots were the admiration of Europe; when the Académies of Montauban, of Saumur, of Nismes, of Sedan, were presided over by teachers that had no superiors, in their favorite departments, throughout Christendom; when theological science was illustrated by names as brilliant as those of Daniel Chamier and Bérauld, of Caméron and Amyrault, of Dumoulin and Petit.

Quiet and orderly, devout, industrious, the Huguenots won the esteem of the thoughtful and compelled the respect even of those that might be classed with their enemies. No Frenchmen were more submissive to constituted authority, none were there whose conduct gave less occasion for anxiety, or offered a firmer pledge of loyalty to the crown. Assuredly, if any valid reason could be discovered for revoking the privileges solemnly conceded to the Huguenots, it was not to be found in any dissatisfaction with their attitude to the peace and quiet of their native land. Were any proof of this statement needed, it would be furnished by the reiterated declarations of Louis the Fourteenth himself, or by the oft-quoted saying of Cardinal Mazarin to the effect that he had no complaints to make of the little flock; for if it fed on bad pasture, at least it did not go astray.

I prefer, however, to read in evidence this bit of a note, which I do not remember to have seen used for such a purpose—a bit of a note which the Cardinal in question, then in the height of his power and absolute master of France (November, 1659), wrote in reply to a letter addressed to him by the last Huguenot National Synod that ever assembled.

“Gentlemen,” he says, “your deputies have handed me the letter you took the trouble to write to me. I thank you for your civilities, and I may tell you that his Majesty being fully persuaded, as indeed he is, of your inviolable fidelity, and your zeal for his service, it was needless for you to make mention of the services I may have rendered you with his Majesty. I beg you to believe that I entertain a high esteem for you, as you deserve, being such good servants and subjects of the king.” And the prime minister signs himself, “Your very affectionate servant, to serve you,

CARDINAL MAZARIN.”

From the respect and confidence here testified in the loyalty of the Huguenots to their utter proscription in the revocatory edict, the transition is a great one and it could not be effected in a moment.

If the monarch himself may charitably be supposed to have been no hypocrite in his repeated confirmations of the Magna Charta of Huguenot rights, there were those who made no secret of their desire to compass its overthrow and who pursued their purpose with relentless perseverance, with a singleness of aim worthy of a less ignoble endeavor. The clergy of France, convening every five years, made each successive assembly, from the year before Cardinal Mazarin's death to the identical year of the Revocation, the occasion of a fresh demand respecting the Huguenots. For these worthy ecclesiastics appear to have considered it their duty to devote quite as much of their time and attention to the affairs of their neighbors, the Huguenots, as to their own legitimate business; and to have labored under a chronic anxiety, becoming more intense as years passed by, lest the adherents of the “pretended” Reformed religion should enjoy any of the peace of mind or of the security of person or property which render life supportable.

Unfortunately, these assemblies of the clergy of the established church were hailed by the royal court with a delight that was equalled only by the annoyance inspired by the advent of the Protestant synods. For, whereas, the Huguenots never met but they had some

fresh complaint to make, of funds necessary for the support of their ministry unjustly withheld by the government, the assemblies of the Roman Catholic clergy were guardians of the ecclesiastical revenues, a perennial source from which his very Christian Majesty drew deep draughts to replenish his depleted treasury.

Thus was it that as regularly as the clergy came together in quinquennial assembly, so regularly the Huguenots lost some one or more of the rights granted to them, directly or by implication, in the "perpetual and irrevocable Edict of Nantes." And thus were the coils gradually tightened about the neck of the devoted sect with which no fellowship in the body politic could be tolerated. So steady and so sure was the contraction, so skilfully and systematically was the process carried on, that, although the victim foresaw from far back the fate awaiting him, no efforts, no prayers to the king, no appeal to the feeling of justice and humanity commonly believed to lurk in every breast, no plea based upon the natural and inalienable rights of man, or upon the faith plighted by the reigning monarch, as well as by his father and his grandfather, availed to ward off the necessary catastrophe.

For it is a lamentable fact that there are contingencies in which the very fountain of pity is sealed up, not in the breasts of certain individual persons, the most hardened of our race, but apparently in whole classes of mankind. A false education may render men naturally of a merciful disposition inaccessible to the promptings of compassion. It cannot be denied that the adherents of the dominant church in France, two hundred years ago, had been trained to discriminate against the Huguenots. This was most clearly shown in the administration of the laws. The most equitable of judges could not bring himself to view the distinction of religion as a matter of which he must take no cognizance. He did not indeed deny the Huguenot a share in the common heritage of man, nor uphold the doctrine that the Huguenot had no rights which the Roman Catholic was bound to respect. But he adopted and put in practice a theory scarcely less repugnant to the sense of universal justice—the theory that to every legislative provision must be given that interpretation which was least favorable to the Huguenot. In other words, all the presumptions of law must be regarded as lying against the dissenter from the dominant faith.

Let it not be supposed that I am here making a generalization that may or may not be borne out by the particular facts. I am fortunate enough to have the distinct authority of a prominent jurist,



enunciated so far back as in the year 1634, or just about half a century before the revocation, at what were styled the Grands Jours of Poitiers—before a commission whose members were drawn from several parliaments and which was invested with extensive powers for redressing abuses. In supporting the application of the Archbishop of Tours for the demolition of a Protestant church at Saint Maixent, M. Omer Talon, the advocate-general, advanced the monstrous proposition that “the Protestants were allowed to remain in France only by sufferance, as a thing is tolerated which we should be glad not to have in existence. Hence it follows,” he said, “that whatever regards the religion of the Reformed must not be reckoned among *favorable* things, for which the terms of law are customarily construed in a gracious manner. On the contrary, the judges are bound to adhere to a *rigorous* interpretation of the expressions employed.”

A more iniquitous maxim could not have been devised. Incorporated into the principles of French jurisprudence, the unfortunate declaration of Omer Talon converted the very citadel of defence of the innocent into a stronghold of injustice and oppression. Thus it came to pass that the practical application of the laws, for more than a hundred years, was as much more iniquitous than the laws themselves, as the legislation of the age of Louis the Thirteenth and Louis the Fourteenth was more unjust than that of our times. A signal illustration was given of the old Roman adage, that a severe construction of the law may result in the most flagrant invasion of personal rights—“*summum jus, summa injuria*.” From impartial arbiters, the royal judges of France became masters of the petty art of special pleading, dealers in quibbles and low chicanery, whose misapplied ingenuity was all directed, not to the discovery of the true intent of the edicts in force respecting matters of religion, much less to a conscientious administration of their provisions; but, rather, to the study of such methods of interpretation as might inure to the discomfiture of the Protestants in the unequal struggle into which they were forced.

It would be a weary recital were I to undertake to chronicle each step in the process whose natural conclusion could be nothing short of pronouncing the sentence of legal death upon all the Protestants in France. Happily, such a detailed account is unnecessary here. I shall touch only upon a few points.

The Huguenots had been guaranteed equal admission to all offices of state, to all public honors and dignities. Not only was the

provision rendered null and void by the resoluteness of the government to reserve its rewards for the orthodox alone ; but the Huguenots were excluded successively, by edicts, interpretative declarations and orders, from one after another of the occupations and professions by means of which they might sustain their families. Not content with punishing the men for their faith, the petty meanness of their sleepless enemies vented itself upon the feebler sex, upon inoffensive women, till, at last, not even the humble avocation of milliner or of laundress could be pursued by a Huguenot !

Of course, the Huguenot places of worship were the points upon which the enemies of the devoted sect vexed their souls above measure. It went hard with such ingenious investigators, but they could find some pretext for getting rid of an obnoxious *temple*. The most costly edifice reared by Huguenot piety for the worship of Almighty God was unhesitatingly condemned to destruction, if it chanced to stand inconveniently near the parish church—if, for example, the distant sound of psalm-singing could plausibly be represented as interfering in some degree with the solemn office of the Mass. A general demand was made for the production of the title-deeds of the lands on which the Protestant churches had been built. Woe to the unfortunate parishioners that had lost or mislaid the papers ! They were unusually favored if they were not compelled to do the work of demolition with their own hands. Royal intendants, indeed, constituted themselves sole judges in last resort of such delicate questions as whether the Huguenots of their provinces were not provided with an excessive number of churches, and calmly exercised the prerogative of destroying whichever seemed to them superfluous. Thus, M. de Foucault relates, without shame, and, even, with a certain pride of superior cunning, how, when intendant of Béarn, he had a map of that province drawn, for the purpose of pointing out to Louis the Fourteenth, at a private audience, just how many Protestant churches there were in the territory committed to his supervision. He showed his Majesty that they were too numerous and too close together. Out of twenty churches, fifteen were dispensed with, and at a stroke of the pen Béarn lost all but five of its Protestant places of worship. This was not all. The wily intendant took good care, he tells us, that the five churches that were spared should be precisely those five against which actions were then pending in the courts for such pretended infractions of law on the part of their pastors as would involve the condemnation of the sacred edifices. So perfectly did M. Foucault's scheme, applauded



by Louis, work, that, in less than six weeks, there was not a single Protestant place of worship standing in Béarn !

The Huguenot pre-eminence in letters, sacred and profane, was attacked. Then were those learned colleges and theological seminaries, at Saumur and elsewhere, closed to Protestant teachers ; the edifices given over to the Jesuits for the dissemination of quite other doctrines from those held by the founders. It came to such a pass that the government gravely enacted that a Huguenot schoolmaster must not teach his pupils anything beyond reading, writing and arithmetic !

But the foulest blow was not struck at the pursuits, or at the places of worship, or at the schools ; it was reserved for the most sacred of all human institutions—for the family. In the clergy's zeal to seduce the children of Huguenots from the religion of their parents, it was at last ordained that the child of *seven* years should be permitted to declare itself a Roman Catholic. And the word expressing a preference for the Roman Catholic Church having once been thoughtlessly spoken by the child, neither could the parents interfere with the child's education as a Roman Catholic, nor could the child return to its parents' religion, without incurring the gravest of punishments—the penalties reserved for the relapsed heretic. Need any one marvel that one of the most considerable emigrations of the Huguenots was the immediate consequence of the impolitic and cruel attempt of Louis the Fourteenth to introduce discord and confusion into the family ?

And then came the savage Dragonnades, with the endeavor to convert the Huguenots, in mass, to the Roman Catholic faith ; companies of soldiers, billeted upon Protestants, with the distinct understanding that they might with impunity indulge in almost any degree of violence short of deliberate murder ; coarse troopers pouring into the houses of peaceable and inoffensive citizens, turning the parlor into a stable for their horses, wantonly breaking whatever furniture they might lay their hands on ; compelling their hosts to provide every dainty the market could afford ; insulting women with ribald jests and songs, disquieting the sick, torturing the well ; at times, relieving one another by a systematic division of their detachments into watches, that they might by incessant noise harrass the household without intermission, whether by day or by night, and allow to weary nature no opportunity for rest.

It is scarcely surprising that, while great multitudes sought refuge in flight from the country, others, less strong, prevented from

imitating their example, succumbed for the moment, and obtained a respite from intolerable annoyances by an insincere submission to the will of their persecutors. Then was it that the ears of Louis were regaled with exaggerated accounts of the marvellous progress of the work of conversion, to which, by way of atoning for his vices, he had devoted himself. Governor vied with governor, intendant with intendant, in reporting magnified stories of his individual successes, and in striving to attract to himself the favorable notice of the monarch. So many hundreds or thousands had been converted in such a town or city to the religion of the king; soon there would not be a Huguenot in the entire province. These letters, intended for the royal eye, naturally contained little information respecting the means employed. The king might believe, if he chose—there was nothing to the contrary in the letters—that his Majesty's very obsequious subjects of the Protestant faith were flocking in crowds to testify their loyalty to their master, by professing the religion of which he desired them to be.

Louis was no imbecile. If we may credit those best situated for forming an unbiassed estimate, he was by nature not wanting in penetration, and his judgments were apt to be correct as well as independent. Under other circumstances, he might possibly have made a beneficent ruler. Everything, however, conspired to pervert and distort a character originally not altogether base. The policy of Cardinal Richelieu, during his predecessor's reign, had paved the way for the assertion of the absolute authority of the crown. The checks upon the despotic exercise of the royal prerogative, existing so late as the time of the Valois kings, rude and imperfect as those checks were, had been destroyed. Parliaments had lost the power of remonstrance; the States-General no longer came together; the great nobles were no longer formidable; the voice of the liberty-loving Huguenots had ceased to be heard either in political assembly or in national synod. Everything tended to corroborate in the vain mind of Louis the pleasing impression that "State" and "king" were convertible designations.

Adulation had turned his head. His military ventures had proved successes. His worshippers styled him "the *Great*," and there was some show of propriety in so doing. The territorial development of France had never been so complete. Its armies and navies had rarely been more formidable. But one realm remained, Louis was told, in which to assert his title to greatness—and that realm was *Religion*. Now religion had not hitherto

been Louis the Fourteenth's strong point. Yet religion was to be the supreme ground of his exaltation. How should that ground be gained?

I remember to have read that, in the City of Poitiers, some two or three years after the Revocation, the Jesuits (who, in their colleges, were always fond of dramatic representations) brought out an allegorical play, wherein Mars, as the symbol of War; and Peace; and Themis, as the symbol of Law; and Religion, each in turn, set forth their rival pretensions to have contributed most largely to confer upon the reigning monarch his glorious epithet of "the *Great*." I need not say how the others supported their claims; but when it came to the turn of *Religion*, in the Fourth Act, the story is thus told in the scheme, which is, unfortunately, all that has come down to us: "*Heresy* makes her appearance attended by her furies. She expires at sight of the *portrait of the King* presented to her by Religion."

Here, then, was the truly royal road to greatness, as pictured to the mind of Louis the Fourteenth by the pious Madame de Maintenon, by the confessor Père de la Chaise, and by the Jesuits in general.

Did Louis imagine that the mere portrait of himself, arrayed in those magnificent robes with which he was wont to display his person to the view of the people on great occasions, that pomp and glitter of costume with which painting and sculpture have rendered us so familiar, in the galleries of Versailles and elsewhere—did Louis imagine that this imposing tableau would so strike the Huguenots with contrition for their ever having ventured, even for a moment, to differ from their puissant sovereign, in a matter so near to what he called his heart as religion, that they flocked to embrace the faith he wished them to accept? Did he not know that the face held up to the gaze of the Protestants by Marillac in Poitou, and by Foucault in Béarn, and by Saint-Ruth in Dauphiny, and by the rest of the ignoble cohort of royal intendants, was a face more capable of turning men's hearts into stone than of attracting them to love and belief—more like a gorgon's head with entwined serpents, than the suave countenance of a monarch, the embodiment of every grace and virtue.

At length, when the reign of terror among the Protestants had lasted for several years, when dragoons and imprisonment and torture of almost every conceivable kind had done their work, and the profession of the Reformed doctrines had been suppressed throughout the greater part of the kingdom, the step long apprehended was taken—the Edict of Nantes was formally revoked. All exercises of

Protestant worship were prohibited, all ministers were banished on pain of death, while the laity were forbidden, under penalties scarcely less grave, from seeking on foreign soil the liberty, denied at home, to worship God according to the dictates of conscience.

It was only the consummation of a long course of persecution. It was only the logical fulfillment of a plan long since devised. Yet the revocation of the Edict of Nantes is itself a critical point in world-history—the epoch from which the decadence of the monarchy of Louis the Fourteenth properly dates, as well as the era of the increased prosperity, not only of many communities, but of some entire countries.

Love, we are told, laughs at bolts and bars. This is certainly true of the passion for religious freedom. The men and women for whom the horrible galleys and the scarcely less inhospitable convent were in store, should they be detected in the perilous attempt to flee the kingdom, yet succeeded, by tens and by hundreds of thousands, in making their way to other lands. Some threaded the defiles of the Alps, and reached Switzerland, scattering thence in every direction so far as to Germany, to Denmark, to Sweden and Poland. Others made their escape by Lorraine and Alsace. Others, in great numbers, eluded the watchful guards on the frontier of the Low Countries, and found a home in Amsterdam, Leyden and the Hague, or pushed on thence even to these Western shores. More venturesome were those Huguenots of the seaboard to whom England alone offered a safe but distant asylum. Fortunate, indeed, were they, if they prevailed upon some mercenary sailor to land them safe on the island of Jersey or in the harbor of Portsmouth, and did not find a watery grave upon the way, to gratify the cupidity of the treacherous ferryman for their meagre effects.

And all these countries welcomed the fugitives with open arms, and as many as welcomed fared well for the hospitality they had extended. With the refugees for conscience sake came a blessing, though men saw not always its advent.

The earliest of classic poets, in describing a hero of the olden time, a victim of calumny, sent into an exile which his enemies hoped would prove his destruction, tells us that the protection of the Deity, ever-present guardian of injured innocence, secured him immunity from peril; or, as Chapman has quaintly translated his phrase in honest Anglo-Saxon speech :

“He went, and happily he went, the gods walked all his way !”

Ladies and gentlemen : When the distressed Huguenots of France, forced to flee leaving all they counted dear behind them, forced to flee though the attempt at flight might itself involve them in a fate worse than death, forced to flee, yet fleeing not as culprits but in the conscious dignity of unimpeached patriotism and rectitude—when, I say, the Huguenots went forth scarce knowing whither they went, they, too, went happily, for God walked all their way ! Under such escort they went, to become, wherever their footsteps might lead them, honored and valued citizens of the lands of their adoption.

Ladies and gentlemen, the repeal of the Edict of Nantes has been, these last days, commemorated, not celebrated, in France. To French Protestants—in fact, to all French patriots—that great historical event appears rather in the light of a national disaster, which may, indeed, properly be recalled with fasting, humiliation and prayer, but cannot be made the subject of jubilant songs and ostentatious display. Yet we, who, from a distance, view with more calmness and, perchance, with greater impartiality the course of history, as connected with the revocation—we, I say, are able to discern the fact that what was the loss of France has proved to the rest of the civilized world a gain. If their native land, depopulated, impoverished, deprived of the most industrious class of its manufacturers, has had good reason ever since to mourn the mistake committed, two hundred years ago, by Louis the Fourteenth, certainly, the countries, on either side of the Atlantic, whither the emigrants carried, not only the scanty remnants of their fortunes, but the pure morals, the intelligence and culture, the tireless hands wherewith they soon more than recovered their ancient prosperity, have good reason to extol the wonderful working of a Divine Being ever ready to bring good out of apparent evil.

God winnowed three kingdoms—we are told—yes, more than three kingdoms—to obtain the choice seed to sow this goodly land of ours, which for long ages had remained fallow; and the Huguenot was not the least precious of the wheat that He separated from the chaff.

I should offend, as well against propriety as against truth, were I to disparage any of the other elements that went to form our colonial body politic. I should be sorry to be called upon, before an American audience, to maintain the thesis that the Huguenot, from La Rochelle, was a more admirable personage, take him all in all, than his brother in the faith, the Brownist, who settled at Plymouth Rock, or that other brother who had so hospitably welcomed him



to the Netherlands, and sent him before himself to found the goodly City of New Amsterdam. Yet confident am I that the United States would not be what they are, that our political, social and religious life would be less rich, less varied and less fruitful than it is, had the French Colonists not found it necessary to expatriate themselves and cast in their lot with their fellow religionists from across the Channel and from the mouth of the Rhine.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was the instrument, in the hands of a Higher Power, of supplying one of the essential elements of our new American civilization. The number of the emigrants that came from France did not, indeed, by any means equal the number of emigrants from Great Britain or from Holland; but these sturdy witnesses for the truth, descendants of the men and women, who, from first to last, had endured persecution for more than one hundred and fifty years, exerted an influence quite disproportioned to their numerical strength. I have somewhere seen it likened to the gold which the pious Russians cast into the molten mass that was to become the great bell of the cathedral of Moscow; what the Huguenots added to our American commonwealth did not greatly augment its bulk, nor, possibly, make any essential change in its leading characteristics, but it requires no extraordinary keenness to detect the superior fineness of tone, the clearer and more melodious ring which the admixture imparted.

The Protestantism of France was not more sincere than the Protestantism of the English Pilgrims, or of the Dutch settlers of New Netherland, but I shall not err, I think, in characterizing it as more winning and attractive. From a land where the sky is brighter, where the seasons are more kindly than on the fog-enshrouded isle of Britain, or the frosty low lands of Holland, the Huguenot was himself more genial and light-hearted than his neighbors. Against him the accusation was less plausibly urged that his religion had made him gloomy. The prevailing cheerfulness of his life found expression in his own favorite psalms. These might, indeed, to a modern ear, seem somewhat slow and stately in their measures; but they were, notwithstanding, brighter and more stirring than any of the compositions in which the Protestants of the North indulged. And to a sunshiny disposition the Huguenots added a rare refinement and an elegance of manners, in which they had no superiors, if, indeed, they had their equals among the colonists from elsewhere. This was the case, whether they belonged to the privileged classes, or came from those humbler grades of society so largely represented



in all migratory movements. The same influences that had thrown into their hands at home a share of commerce and manufactures out of all proportion to their relative population, had tended to beautify their manners, and to make of the mere peasant or artisan a fine specimen of the highest type of the Christian gentleman.

The act of Louis the Fourteenth that compelled the emigration to these shores of so many men destined to take part in the development of the material resources, in the upbuilding of the mighty fabric of our National Union, deserves to be celebrated by their descendants, with joyful acclamations, on this the second centennial recurrence of the day when, in the blindness of sectarian zeal, servile judges hastened to inscribe the king's foolish declaration on the official register of the laws of France. But for the fanaticism of Louis, but for the obsequious complaisance of the Parliament of Paris, where had been the names now found upon the roll of the heroes that won our national independence, and on that other roll of the statesmen that framed our national constitution? Where had been Henry and John Laurens, and Marion, and Jay, and Gabriel Manigault, who freely loaned a great part of his fortune to help South Carolina in what appeared to be a desperate resistance to the overwhelming forces of the mother country, and Elias Boudinot, who, as President of Congress, signed the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain? Where had been that host of other names not less worthy of eternal remembrance?

We are not here, ladies and gentlemen, to commemorate a successful crime! Thank God! there are no such crimes in the history of mankind. Not alone every attribute of the Deity, but every latent force in the universe, and every movement in the progress of the human race are banded together to overthrow that which for a time may promise to be enduring and prosperous iniquity. We are here to rejoice that from a stupendous blunder, from a monstrous violation of justice, the unerring hand of Almighty God has drawn forth a lesson of inestimable value to all future time.

The rights of the individual conscience cannot be infringed with impunity. The monarch who ventures to assume the prerogative of deity and undertakes to prescribe the religious faith of his subjects, engages in a contest with the very constitution of things from which none ever came off successful. The convictions of men are proof against compulsion. Their stronghold cannot be stormed by violence. Threatened by superior numbers, harassed on every side, the garrison may give up the exterior works, but it is only to take

refuge in that inner keep whose massive walls laugh to scorn all the puny weapons of assault.

The magnanimous conduct of the Huguenots at the time of the Recall of the Edict of Nantes, the resolute preference exhibited by so many of them of loss of property, of exile, galleys, separation from kindred, bodily tortures, death itself, to an ease and a comfort bought at the price of the renunciation of their faith, was a living protest against the notions then current respecting the province of human authority in determining matters of religious belief—a protest that found expression in those burning words wherewith the celebrated Jean Claude rested his great plea for “the Protestants cruelly oppressed in the kingdom of France.”

“We protest,” said the brave Huguenot, “we protest against that impious and detestable practice, now pursued in France, of making religion to depend upon the will of a mortal and corruptible king, and of treating perseverance in the faith as rebellion and a state offence—which is making a man a God, and authorizing atheism or idolatry. We protest against the violent and inhuman detention of our brethren now made in France (be it in prisons or elsewhere), with the view of preventing them from leaving the realm and seeking liberty of conscience in other lands—for this is the climax of violence and iniquity. We desire that these protests may serve before all men, kings, princes, lords, states and peoples, and before God himself, for a testimony to us and to our posterity for the maintenance of our rights and for the discharge of our consciences.”

Louis the Fourteenth and the intendants of provinces, more barbarous than Louis himself, sought both to force the Huguenots to embrace a hated creed, and to deny them, under extreme penalties, the inalienable right of man to obtain in exile relief from oppressive legislation. They failed signally in both. It was not long before an intendant reported to the court that one hundred thousand Huguenots had fled from the single diocese of Saintonge. If he was right, the emigration from the entire kingdom, which neither the fear of the galleys for the men nor the horrors of the Tour de Constance for the women could check, must have amounted to at least three or four times that number.

On the other hand, those who did not flee the kingdom did not become what the King had decreed that they must become. True, the law affected, for a time, to change their designation of Protestants into that of “new converts,” “Nouveaux Convertis.” But their conversion was soon discovered to be a very unsatisfactory

thing. Many stoutly refused to make the slightest concession, and passed through the Dragonnades and all the subsequent severities, leaving to their descendants an example of constancy almost unparalleled. Others, while freely avowing their utter repudiation of the doctrines of the church of which the State insisted that they should make profession, went once to Mass and never went again. Those who had been so anxious to secure their adhesion all at once discovered that they had only succeeded in obtaining an insincere acquiescence such as violence can usually extort from the weaker members of any communion. Curates and bishops raved, and stormed, and abused. They invented new methods, much as the highwayman attempts to obtain from his victim a guarantee, under oath, that the promise made through fear of death was freely given. The methods all failed. The convictions of the inner man could not be laid hold of by the hand that so daringly ventured to close upon them. The effort was relaxed only when it was tardily discovered that the fingers had closed upon a substance that eludes the grasp of man.

Even in France itself persecution has proved a disastrous failure. Retarded, but not destroyed, the doctrines for which the Huguenots were witnesses two centuries ago are as full of vitality now as they were then. Happy indeed will it be if the dragon's teeth sown by the despotic monarch in the Edict of Revocation continue not to spring up full-armed warriors to fight the battles of socialism and infidelity; happy if from the fair fields of France a harvest be reaped more like after its kind to the precious seed of truth and good-will planted long since by the Huguenots.

The Hon. THOMAS F. BAYARD, Secretary of State of the United States, rose and, addressing the Chair, said :

*Mr. President and ladies and gentlemen of the Huguenot Society of America :*

The duty has become mine of offering the following resolutions :

We, the descendants of the Huguenots who took refuge in America, assembled to commemorate the bi-centenary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes,

#### DO RESOLVE,

I. That the two centuries which have elapsed since the Revocation have amply proven not only the iniquity of that monstrous act, which denied the inherent right of freedom of conscience and drove into exile the supporters of that right, but also the irreparable loss it inflicted upon France in religion, learning, industry and skill, by the banishment to foreign countries of half a million of her best subjects.

2. That we heartily thank God that in his kind providence our fathers, when forced to flee from their native land, were led to these western shores, and that, looking to France as their ancient and cherished home and now the home of our kindred and blood and our brethren in the Christian faith, we invoke for her that progress in a pure and tolerant Christianity which is essential to national dignity, prosperity and happiness.

3. That, after a separation of two hundred years, we hereby reaffirm our solidarity and brotherhood with all of Huguenot origin, both in France and in every other country where the descendants of the exiles of 1685 do now dwell.

4. That the history of the Huguenots at home and abroad has shown the world that the freedom of creeds from State control is the only true policy of Christendom.

These resolutions seem to me but a natural sequence of expression by those who have listened to the learned and admirable address of Professor Baird; and perhaps, in performing the duty assigned to me of reading them and moving their adoption, my part in these ceremonials might properly end. But, having made a long journey from a distant point of duty in order to be present on this occasion, I beg leave to offer my sincere and simple congratulations to the Huguenot Society of America and its members, and all others of Huguenot descent who here have assembled.

It has been well said that "Westminster Abbey is part of the British Constitution," for the memories and traditions which have filled its aisle and echoed within its walls were potential agencies in giving a tone to legislation, and created a silent but controlling force in the lives and actions of the public men and rulers of that country.

And one work of this Society will be to keep alive the memories of noble deeds done, and sufferings undergone for the sake of conscience, for the maintenance and preservation of religious liberty.

Such examples as we inherit from the noble men and women of France, our Huguenot ancestry, must be cherished; and it is well that we should commemorate an event so marked in history as the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, to which such remarkable results can be traced, and which has exerted such impressive influences, not upon the welfare of France alone, but has affected so importantly the progress and civilization of nearly every other government in Christendom.

Honorable traditions are a silent and mighty power, and impress the living with the affections, manners and laws of the dead; for, if uninstructed by the past, how can we hopefully meet the future?

A nation or an individual without such traditions is as a tree without strong roots, and has no hidden strength and tenacity of life to hold it fast when the storm and tempest rage.

These reflections remind us that our inheritance of honorable names and of the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty carry with them the obligation to keep them in honor and maintain and defend them; that we hold them in trust, to enjoy in our lifetime and transmit them untarnished and undiminished to posterity. We cherish these traditions, not for the glorification of family names, but for the honor and advancement of humanity, as incentives to those private and public virtues that constitute the true strength of a nation.

The Edict of Nantes was as famous and important as the Magna Charta.

The Edict of Nantes was extorted by the Huguenots of France from Henry IV. in his political necessities, as Magna Charta was compelled from John; each act was but the confirmation of prior grants of privilege, marks of the rising and again receding tide of civil and religious liberty; each granted most reluctantly, and each encroached upon by arbitrary power, and needing new and repeated confirmation to make it secure.

History relates how within the hundred years that followed the death of Henry IV., the encroachments of religious bigotry and arbitrary power impaired the franchises and privileges contained in the famous Edict of religious toleration, until, in the culmination of injustice and blind cruelty, Louis XIV. was led at last wholly to revoke the Edict itself.

It is computed, in that century and from that cause France lost one million of her best citizens, the very flower of the intellect and character of the kingdom—driven from their homes because they possessed and would not relinquish these virtues which form the strength of a State.

This suicidal folly of religious proscription has scarcely a parallel in history; for civil and religious liberty are twin branches of the same stem, and when one withers the other cannot live; and when the dignity of human conscience was invaded and overthrown, degradation of manhood in civil and social life followed, and it is easy to trace the connection between the bloody uprising of despair and suffering in 1787 and the act of October 22d, 1685, which deprived the French people of all barriers and restraint against arbitrary power.

Throughout this broad union of States no tie is stronger than the traditions of a common religious faith sustained in by-gone days by the virtues and sufferings of a common ancestry, and as all that tends to strengthen our political union is to be encouraged, the Huguenot Society, which will find its members and sympathetic friends in every State and Territory of our country, will become a force of political strength in our constitutional system.

The lesson taught us by our Huguenot forefathers was obedience to a conscientious individuality and the cultivation of a noble, upright, personal independence. And I am disposed to believe these qualities are as much needed under the changed conditions of the time and country in which we now live, as they were in France two centuries ago.

We do not face here the corrupt and deadly despotism of a *grand monarque* with his mastery of the stage tricks of royalty, but we may have to combat the intolerance and ignorant impatience of majorities, and when such struggles come, involving the welfare of our country, we must assert and protect individual conscience, and not permit it to be overawed by the forces of numbers arrayed under the banner of a corrupt plutocracy.

It is not a question of immediate success, but it is the ever-present question of duty. In such contests let us be mindful of the Huguenots, an epoch in whose history we commemorate to-day, recalling the words of Longfellow that

“ In the wreck of noble lives  
Something immortal still survives.”

MR. JAY : Ladies and gentlemen, among our guests are several from Charleston. Charleston is one of the earliest original centres of the Huguenots, and it has furnished many names that have been already alluded to—those of Laurens, Marion, Legaré, De Saussure.

Gen. De Saussure was to have been with us to-night. He was to have moved the resolution of thanks to the orator. Illness has prevented his coming, and his friend, Mr. Ravenel, will read his address, and offer the resolution. I think I may say that the presence of these gentlemen from Charleston is a happy illustration of one of the remarks made by the Hon. Secretary of State when he spoke of the influence of this Society in creating a feeling of unity—a unity of sentiment throughout the country. It is bringing together those who were once separated. I have the pleasure of introducing Mr. Ravenel, who read the following paper:



There seems to be a singular fitness in the fact that so many Huguenot descendants from various parts of the United States should be assembled this evening in the Huguenot Church of New York, to commemorate the 200th Anniversary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and to listen with thrilled interest to the eloquent words in which we have been told of the brave men and women, who became exiles from their beloved France, rather than give up the right to worship their God, according to the reformed doctrines, which they believed to be the true exposition of His Holy Scriptures.

We are not assembled to commemorate that Revocation, but rather to express our gratitude, that the silver lining of the dark cloud which two centuries ago overshadowed the exiles, has been turned to us, and we are now able to appreciate the blessings which have resulted from the then apparent chastening. Very deep was the gloom when the cruel Edict of Revocation was proclaimed, preceded as it had been by the bloody persecutions and dragonnades which foretold it. The children of Israel left Egypt laden with the spoils thrust upon them by their oppressors in their anxiety to be rid of a people for whose deliverance such dire plagues had been visited upon Pharaoh and his people. Not so with the Huguenot exiles. Thrust out of their country, yet visited with severest penalties for endeavoring to go : husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters torn apart from each other while endeavoring to comply with the sentence of banishment: despoiled of their property and goods : escaping by flight, as best they could : in penury : with physical sufferings, not a tithe of which has ever been told, or can ever be learned : the pious exiles, bearing their heavy crosses, sought refuge in foreign lands : those who fled for homes to the new world, braving the hardships of the wilderness, and the ferocity of wild beasts and of savages not less ferocious than the beasts of the forests. Their simple, humble faith in Him whom they had learned to worship as Lord of Lords, and to serve as Kings of Kings, gave them strength to bear the crosses, hoping that He who had permitted such to be laid upon them, would in His own good time, replace the crosses with crown. We are gathered to express our gratitude to Him for the crowns.

Very abundant is our cause for such gratitude. The religious and political liberty enjoyed in this land : the protection given by the laws: the prosperity which in two centuries has converted the wilderness into a garden, a granary for the world : and the influence which

the Huguenot exiles to America exercised in bringing about such religious and political liberties, framing its laws, developing the resources of the country, all speak for the character of those who preferred exile with its hardships, to an abandonment of their religious convictions. The descendants of the Huguenots, while deploring the injuries which resulted to the fair country of their forefathers from the ruthless persecutions and banishments, can now see how the dark cloud which overshadowed the exiles in their flight, had hidden in it a silver lining for the dissemination in other lands of the arts, sciences, education, faithful obedience to righteous civil laws, which the exiles carried with them : and for the industry, sobriety, integrity and conscientious observance of religious duties, which characterized their forefathers into whatsoever lands they went; all of which impressed themselves upon all the peoples among whom they settled.

Dr. Baird in the *Rise of the Huguenots*, quotes Bishop Jewel, as saying of the Huguenots who in 1564 took refuge in England, "They are our Brethren, they live not idly. If they have houses of us, they pay rent for them. They hold not our grounds but by making due recompense. They beg not in our streets, nor crave anything at our hands, but to breathe our air, and to see our sun. They labor truly, they live sparefully. They are good examples of virtue, travail, faith and patience. The towns in which they abide are happy, for God doth follow them with his blessings."

Professor Tuttle, of Cornell University, in his *History of Prussia*, says of the emigration to that country, "The repeal of the Edict of Nantes, and the expulsion of the Huguenots, opened the way for French exiles, who came in large numbers, were liberally treated, and gave a powerful impulse to industry, above all in the finer mechanical arts. \* \* \* Besides the German scholars there was also at Berlin a large number of French Protestant refugees who were already distinguished in letters and science. Such were James Lenfant, who was a fierce enemy of the Jesuits, and wrote histories of the Church Councils; Isaac Beausobre, who is still known by his learned work on the Manichaens; Vignolles, who prepared a chronology of the Old Testament; and Lacroze, who made researches into the Coptic, and other obscure tongues. These were all men of fervent piety, and their Gallic wit, taste, and eloquence agreeably seasoned the intellectual diet of Berlin society. \* \* \* A circumstance which will strike the attention of any person who looks at the roll of the early members of the Academy, is the large number of

French names. It was a number, too, wholly out of proportion to the total strength of the French immigration. Exact data are of course not available. The refugees were dispersed throughout the Elector's dominions, and the movement itself continued for many years, but on any reasonable estimate the ratio of scholars among the exiles must excite amazement. It proves that Protestantism in France, at least as represented by Protestants who fled from France to Prussia, was not a low delusion of the ignorant populace, or, on the other hand, a mere fancy of shallow and sceptical nobles, but an intelligent conviction on the part of some of the most erudite men of the age; men who joined learning to piety; and who, when banished from their country, carried the zeal of scholars, as well as the faith of Christians among the people who gave them an asylum. Some among the refugees, such especially as Lenfant and Beausobre, were pulpit orators, widely known for the fervor and eloquence of their sermons. The civil service and the army found employment for others. And even the artisans, who naturally formed the greater number in every French colony, were not only among the best whom their own country had produced, but were also vastly superior in sobriety, in intelligence, in skill, in the range of their talents, to the workmen of Prussia. It is said that over forty new branches of industrial art were introduced by them."

Who can forget the influences exerted upon the Christian world by Farel, Beza, Calvin, and many others who could be named. The Zurich letters alone, containing the correspondence of Calvin with the English divines of that day, show the impress which he made upon the English Reformed Church. Throughout the world, wherever the Protestant Church is known, these Huguenot names take rank as peers of all who labored in the cause of a reformed Christianity.

If there were no other record of Beza left but that grand Colloquy at Poissy, could any one fail to see the stamp which he made upon the religious convictions of every thinking people.

While the simple, yet sublime Liturgies of the Reformed Churches continue to be the media through which Protestants using a liturgical service, address their supplications to God, no one can fail to see the influence exerted by Farel, in framing a worship so beautiful, so humble, so consoling, so ennobling.

The Grand Monarch had driven into exile his Huguenot subjects: did he dream how soon the Marshal de Schomberg, one of their number, would be one of the illustrious generals under William

of Orange to vindicate by force of arms, against himself, the great interests of Protestantism, and finally force the author of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, to terms of peace humbling to his pride, and disastrous to his kingdom.

That revocation deprived France of so large a part of its truly religious element that little more than a century had passed ere the streets of Paris which two centuries before had run red with blood of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, again streamed with blood shed by citizens of that same city, who, denying the existence of God, erected an idol, the Goddess of Reason, and as two centuries previously their forefathers had butchered Huguenots in the name of Faith, now again butchered thousands in the name of this idol, the symbol of all want of faith. We would vainly close our mind to the convictions of reason did we not see in the horrors of those days of the French Revolution, how, in that country, the influence of the conservative, religious and faithful Huguenots was wanting and missed. Had that part of its population been retained, France would probably have achieved political liberty, without the infamies of such bloody sacrifices.

The study of the civil law, to this day, causes the Universities of Germany to take rank among the first institutions of the continent of Europe. And the introduction of a knowledge of such law, is attributed to the Huguenot refugees in Prussia. Weiss, in his History of the French Protestant refugees, gives the names of many who were appointed by the Elector of Brandenburg, as Judges of Colonies, and adds, "The Judges of the Colonies, several of whom were able jurists, first introduced the principles of Roman Law, with which French legislation is deeply imbued, into German practice. Thence came that tendency to civil equality, which shewed itself in Prussia very long before the French Revolution of 1789, and which prepared the brilliant part which was to be played by that kingdom in modern times." A century and a third later than this emigration, a descendant of the Huguenots who fled to South Carolina, while representing the United States at the court of Belgium, diligently pursued the study of such civil law, as he perceived its great importance. Returning to the United States, after serving a term in the House of Representatives, the Hon. Hugh S. Legaré was appointed Attorney-General of the United States, and by his able opinions, especially on great questions of International Law, manifested the very important influence exerted by the Huguenot

refugees, in shaping the great Code of Laws under which so large a part of the Continent of Europe now administers justice.

In science, Desaguliers, descendant of an Huguenot exile, a pupil of Newton, vindicated the confidence placed in him by his illustrious teacher, and by his public lectures contributed greatly to the wider dissemination, and better understanding of the philosophy of his preceptor. And Denis Papin in 1767, worked out the problem of the adaptability of steam, to the ordinary purposes of life, inventing the steam-engine in fact.

It is a grand feature of the Hebrew people wherever scattered, that they so care for their indigent, that a Jew beggar is a rarity. The Huguenots, sorely tried as they had been, and despoiled as they were of property, very early began associations for the relief of the more necessitous among themselves, and the Hospital for Poor French Protestants, in London, is a noble monument to their laudable desire to support and care for their own needy and distressed. The oldest charitable society in Charleston, the South Carolina Society, owes its institution, for similar purposes, to the Huguenot refugees to that colony.

No one can study the development of the mechanical industries in England, Holland, Prussia, Ireland, and wherever else these refugees found shelter, without perceiving the marked influence and improvement which rapidly showed itself. In woollens, silks, glasses, linens, and other branches too numerous to name, the inferior work of the several countries became converted into skilled labor. I will illustrate this thought by one fact only. When the Huguenots first fled to England, the paper used in that kingdom was of a coarse, brownish character, but under the teaching and manipulation of these refugees, English paper has long since become a synonym for excellence in that branch of manufacture.

Instances such as above alluded to are mentioned to show the Huguenot influence in other lands than our own. We are here, however, to-night, for the more especial purpose, of considering the influences exerted by them in the United States, and expressing our gratitude to Him who led them into the wilderness of the new world, for the character which, under His teachings, they brought with them, to impress itself upon the growing institutions and prosperity of this great country.

From the condition of things existing among the original settlers in the New World, we naturally cannot look for much of written material furnished by themselves from which to learn what was their



earlier life in the Colonies. All, of whatever nationality or denomination, were too engrossed in the struggle for the preservation of life, to have time or opportunity to leave much of written history connected with themselves. We are consequently left to glean from public records, from tradition, from the accounts given by travellers visiting them for trade, or other purposes, or from brief and scattered memoranda to be found in old family Bibles, or fragments of letters, what were their privations and toils, and by what heroic exertions they finally triumphed over their difficulties, and laid deep the broad foundation on which our present liberties, privileges, civilization, and powerful influence upon the other peoples of the world, have arisen.

These settlers came to a land where there was no law, save such as they brought with them, and put into execution. Whether Cavalier or Puritan, Dutch or Swede, Scotch, Irish, Pallatine or Swiss, or other nationality, Walloon, Huguenot, Quaker, Presbyterian, Churchman, Baptist or other denomination, they were thrown together in greater or lesser degree to work out the problem of building up a code of laws, and institutions which should ultimately enure for the common benefit of all. With the differences of views, and prejudices which necessarily were brought over by such various settlers, there were, as was to be expected, many jars and contentions, before the contact and commingling could unite into a harmonious whole. Very far is it from my intention to intimate that the Huguenot element alone produced the grand cosmopolitan people who now constitute the people of the United States, and by their very cosmopolitanism worked out the toleration, and religious and political liberties, which characterize, at this day, the institutions and laws of the United States. But I do mean, distinctly to claim, that the characteristics of the Huguenot element, did contribute very materially to bring about such result.

W. R. Williams in his lectures on Baptist history, says, "So of the French Protestant body, how noble is the great record of the French Huguenots. How much did they suffer at home; and how blessed was the influence which they bore abroad to Prussia and Holland, to England and to Scotland, to Ireland and to our own North America. Not long since a Frenchman of science recorded his sense of the Divine nemesis, that among the soldiers who pressed the siege of Paris around the writer's place of study, so many were under the banners of Germany, serving against France as the children of Huguenot exiles that Louis XIV. had hounded and peeled,



returning in God's mysterious arrangements to plague the land where their forefathers had been so cruelly treated."

It will be interesting to review very briefly, some of the characteristics of the Huguenot exiles to America. "In 1686 a small French colony organized itself at New Oxford. The same year a French church was founded at Boston, and ten years after received as pastor a refugee minister of France, named Daille." At New Rochelle, one of the earliest acts of the immigrants was the erection of a church. "A small wooden building was first erected. The second Huguenot Church was built of stone. \* \* While they were building the church every one was anxious to contribute something to its progress. Females assisted, by carrying mortar in their aprons, and stones in their hands." That first wooden church was probably built before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In Charleston, South Carolina, the first colony was one of about ninety persons, sent out by Charles II. in 1680, arriving at that town in the early Spring of the year, when as yet there was not a score of dwellings erected. This colony settled on the banks of the Cooper River in the vicinity of the new town. There is no positive evidence when they erected a church, but in 1681, a lot in the town was granted, and on the margin of the grant, it is designated "French Church," although the grant was to an individual, since under the then laws of the Province, while seven persons could organize a congregation, yet the land must be held in trust. Every circumstance to be learned from contemporaneous records, seems to indicate, that a French Protestant Church was organized in Charleston, in the early Spring of 1681, and that the congregation worshipped on the spot now occupied by the Huguenot Church of Charleston, and have continued so to do from 1681 to the present day. When the larger immigration, after the revocation, took place, the more recent comers, most probably, found this congregation already organized, and a building already erected in which its worship was conducted. The new-comers began to colonize, very speedily, from Charleston, and almost immediately ensuing, we find three other congregations organized, one on the eastern bank of the Cooper River, known as Orange Quarter, one on the western bank, known as St. John's Berkley, and one at Jamestown on the Santee River. In December, 1700, Lawson, traveling along the Santee, finds the pious Huguenots returning on Sunday, from their church, to be reached only by many miles of travel, along rough roads, through dense swamps,

and across deep creeks, passed by the canoes or periaugers kept at these creeks for such purposes.

In this Huguenot Church of New York, successor of the original Pine Street Church, and on an occasion such as the present, we can almost fancy we hear the tramp of the New Rochellese coming along the road as they journey to commune in that venerated church of their fathers, and we listen with rapt attention for the 60th Psalm of Beza and Marot, with which they accompanied their march. We can almost see their wagons encamped around the walls of the church, with parents and children, young and old, awaiting the rising sun, to commence their humble prayers and return their grateful thanks at being able to assemble for the worship of God according to their simple ritual, without fear or contradiction.

And while listening to the march of the New Rochellese there comes to our ears the echo from the far-off church in Charleston, "whither the Huguenots on every Lord's Day gathered from their plantations of the Cooper, and taking advantage of the ebb and flow of the tide, they might all be regularly seen, the parents with their children, whom no bigot could now wrest from them, making their way in light skiffs through scenes so tranquil that silence was broken only by the rippling of oars and the hum of the flourishing village at the confluence of the rivers."

The recorded wills and deeds of many immigrant Huguenots of South Carolina bear evidences of zeal for their churches and their poor by bequests or conveyances of lands for such purposes.

Elias Horry, the emigrant, by his will devised a tract of land of about five hundred acres for the purpose of establishing a free school in the parish in which he resided. Somewhat later, Benjamin Faneuil erected and donated to the City of Boston, for public purposes, the Hall which has become historical under the soubriquet of the "Cradle of Liberty."

The author of the Huguenots says: "Wherever the Huguenots settled they were among the most estimable citizens." Weiss adds: "The American Colonies were largely remunerated for the wisely generous hospitality by the services which the exiles rendered them." And the first writer assigns a reason which is so just as to commend itself to all impartial minds: "They were not adventurers in search of wealth, they were not men who fled their native country after having lost fortune and reputation, but high hearts, fervent in zeal for religion, and resolved never to surrender their consciences to the imperious calls of Government or the vengeance of monarchs."

The brief allusion made to the simple piety and to the interest in education and the promotion of the public good are but intended as illustrations of the characteristics of the Huguenots, and which impressed them for the common weal upon all the communities in which they were intermingled. But in addition to these there was one characteristic which was destined to bear very abundant and lasting fruit upon American soil. The very determination, born of their religion, to resist all attempt to restrain or coerce their religious worship, or subject their consciences to subjection, wrought in the Huguenot mind a true knowledge of a great political liberty, and as they asserted this political liberty at La Rochelle and Montauban, so they carried it with them wheresoever they went, and especially brought it to the Colonies of North America. Here, while asserting no peculiar rights or privileges, they were steadfast and unbending in the claim to an equal participation in the fullest degree with all other colonists of whatever nationality or creed. This claim, made while the wars of Louis XIV. were so greatly disturbing the peace of Europe and inflaming the national prejudices of the other provincial settlers, was yet so just, and so addressed itself to the English Government as well as to the colonists themselves, that eventually it resulted in their being accorded the very fullest participation in every right, franchise, privilege or advantage enjoyed by every other class of colonists. And the inflexible patriotism with which in all the English and French, Spanish or Indian wars conducted in North America, the Huguenot descendant embraced and supported the Government of England fully vindicated that Government in the wisdom of its course to them. While the almost universal adoption of the patriot side in the war of the Revolution told in strongest terms of the true conception of political liberty with which the Huguenot exile had been imbued by his religious teachings, and had brought with him to be practiced when occasion should require.

It would be a theme of deep interest to dwell upon the influences which the Huguenot descendants exerted, in assisting their fellow colonists to work out the problem of the republican government, which the revolutionary war has created as a great palladium for human liberty, upon all mankind. But time admonishes that I can but briefly state a few facts, as evincing this. "Three men, Presidents of the old Congress which conducted the United States through the revolutionary war, were descendants of French Protestant refugees. Henry Laurens, of South Carolina. John Jay, of New York. Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey." The first Chief Justice of the State of

New York, and the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was John Jay. In nothing was the character of Gen. Francis Marion more illustrious than in his noble stand at the Jacksonborough Assembly in South Carolina in 1781, when he resisted the sequestration laws against the Tories of that State: a resistance made when a price was set by the British upon his own head; when he was hunted with unsparing malignity as the Swamp Fox, whom to destroy was an act of most laudable warfare; when his own property was lying so devastated that not a building was standing nor a bushel of food was grown, and when the troops which he commanded had been so hounded and peeled, as had been done to his ancestors by Louis XIV., that they did not have a sufficiency of clothing to be able to appear on parade for very decency sake. Gabriel Manigault, above the age of 75 years and incapable of bearing arms, had placed the whole of his fortune, over \$200,000, at the command of his State, and when, in 1779, Prevost invaded South Carolina and appeared before the lines of Charleston, this aged patriot not only shouldered his own musket and repaired to the trenches, but took in his hand with him his little grandson, Joseph Manigault, a lad of 14, to offer their lives, if necessary, for the maintenance of their country's liberties.

Wherever commerce is known throughout the civilized world the eminent services of Mathew Fontaine Maury, a Huguenot descendant, is recognized in the Signal Service, holding out to those who go down to the deep the warning of danger and foretelling from whence it threatens. In him the Huguenot influence is felt not alone in his own America, but throughout the nations of the earth.

He is said to be a benefactor of the whole human family, who will cause an ear of corn to grow where else it was sterile, and in his scientific development of the phosphate rocks so long buried and unknown for useful purposes in the earth, St. Julien Ravenel has given untold millions to rise up and call him blessed.

In manufactures, arts, sciences, education, religious earnestness and toleration, in laws, and in the steadfast perseverance for the promotion of civil and political liberty, the Huguenot descendant has so impressed himself upon the world, and especially upon the United States, that we are not only justified in claiming it for that people that they have exercised a most potent influence, but to fill us this evening with gratitude that under the dark cloud which overshadowed him in his flight we are now able to see the bright silver lining

and be grateful to Him who led him forth, with characteristics so grand, so simple, so elevating.

We have listened with deepest interest to the eloquent language in which we have been told by the eminent author of the Rise of the Huguenots, of men and women so courageous and brave; and to Dr. Henry M. Baird, not only we of Huguenot descent, but all who love their country and their country's good, all who delight in seeing the good which is in human nature brought into light, are indebted in a great debt of gratitude.

As representing the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, I ask permission not only cordially to second the resolutions already offered, but in asking their adoption to ask the adoption of that which I will now read :

*Resolved*, "That the warm thanks of this assembly and of the Huguenot Society of America are hereby tendered to Professor Henry M. Baird, D.D., for the very able, learned and striking address to which we have just listened, and that a copy be requested for publication by the Society."

Dr. Baird, in the name of the Huguenot descendants of South Carolina, permit me to offer and pray your acceptance of this unassuming little floral bouquet. It presents to the eye no gay exhibition of colors, nor would it attract especial attention at an horticultural exhibition. But as the virtues, worth and qualities which characterized the Huguenot were modest and unassuming, exerting their quiet, but gentle and determined, influences among those with whom they commingled, from the intrinsic value of the qualities and not from any show; so this little bouquet, grown and gathered in our sunny land, may be considered as typical of our forefathers' noble qualities. Scatter these little blossoms among your papers, and day after day and week after week you will find the delicate perfume permeating all your papers and quietly imparting that fragrance so touchingly told by Ireland's gifted poet son :

" Like the vase in which roses have once been distilled,  
You may break, you may shatter the vase, if you will,  
But the scent of the roses will hang round it still."

In this little tribute we desire to exhibit to you, personally, our thanks for the noble language in which you have told us of noble men, the Huguenots. Your words have deeply impressed upon us

the truth of the beautiful thought so aptly expressed by a favorite son of New England :

“ Lives of great men all remind us,  
We can make our lives sublime,  
And, departing, leave behind us  
Footprints on the sands of time;  
Footprints, that perhaps another,  
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,  
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,  
Seeing, shall take heart again.”

The benediction was pronounced by the Rev. Thomas Vermilye, D.D., venerable Senior Minister of the Collegiate Dutch Church, New York City.



RECEPTION AND DINNER  
IN HONOR OF  
The Delegates and the Speakers,  
AT THE  
Bi-Centenary Commemoration,  
ON THE  
EVENING OF OCTOBER 22d, 1885.



## THE RECEPTION AND DINNER.

---

On the evening of the day of the commemoration, the Huguenot Society of America gave a reception, followed by a dinner to the delegates from distant Huguenot centres of settlement in the United States, and to the distinguished gentlemen who had taken parts in the bi-centenary services.

The President and members of the Society and their guests assembled at Delmonico's at half-past seven o'clock, and after an hour of pleasant and cordial greetings and conversation, proceeded to the great banqueting room.

The President took the chair, having upon his right Secretary Bayard, Robert N. Gourdin, of Charleston, S. C.; the Rev. Dr. de Costa, the Hon. Peter B. Olney, the Rev. Dr. Weston and Col. Richard Lathers; and on his left Professor Henry M. Baird, D.D.; President Gallaudet, of the Deaf Mute University of Washington; Daniel Ravenel, of Charleston, S. C.; and the Hon. Alphonse T. Clearwater, of Kingston.

Four long tables, at right angles to the President's table, were filled with other guests, and the officers and members of the Society. The occasion was graced by the presence of many ladies, the charm of whose presence added an unusual pleasure to the enjoyment of the evening. Grace was said by Dr. de Costa, and after the dinner had been partaken of, PRESIDENT JAY arose, and, calling the attention of the company, said :

I think it must be a pleasant thought to all of us, that this, our second anniversary, has taken place on this memorable day. It is, certainly, fitting that descendants of Huguenots in America, as well as those in Europe, should commemorate this anniversary by fitting services and historical addresses such as we have listened to this afternoon. It is also very pleasant to meet socially, as we do to-night, to greet each other face to face, and give a most cordial welcome to our distinguished guests. It is pleasant to remember, and to thank God in remembering, that of all the lands that received by

the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes the advantages and the blessings carried by the Huguenots, and which were lost to France by their departure, no country received a larger share of their faith, heroism and sense of duty, of their learning and manly thought, of their graceful culture, arts and industries, of their joyousness and vitality, than England and her American colonies. The first sentiment, therefore, to which I will ask you to drink, is, "The memory of our Huguenot ancestors." (Drunk standing and in silence.)

MR. JAY: The next toast is: "Our guests, the honored delegates from the distant Huguenot centres of America, and the distinguished orators at the commemoration of to-day." I will ask my friend, the Secretary of State, to add to the obligation under which he has placed us.

MR. BAYARD:—Ladies and Gentlemen: It is very hard to know how to treat an occasion of this kind. You may consider it merely as an occasion of well-bred American men and women meeting for the purpose of social relation. So far, so good; perhaps nothing can be better. Or you may go a little deeper, and you may consider it the meeting of American women and men under an impulse of very strong hereditary traditions shared in common, and, may I not say of religious association as well. It would seem impossible for any one, thinking in the way they ought to think, to consider the causes that brought us together without a vein of seriousness running through the affectionate feeling of such an association. It is quite impossible, while thinking over the days and events we are commemorating, and of the noble-minded people who preceded us, and whose virtues enabled us to meet as we now do, and consider this an ordinary occasion. It would be belittling this occasion to treat it as an ordinary dinner and a mere social amusement. I am quite convinced that the organization of this Society is to be profoundly useful to this dear land in which our lives have been cast, and to the free institutions which make it what it is.

To-day, in the presence of many of those who hear me, I said that religious and civil liberty were twin stems upon the same stalk; that one could not survive without the other, and where one lived the other would be found. As a proof of this I would ask you to examine why it was that the personal assertion of the right to worship God according to a man's own conscience was denied to him by the Government of France, and why it was a natural sequence that the formation of the Huguenot Societies was deemed to be a repub-

lican germination in a monarchy? I think it is this: that the safety of a republic depends upon the independent exercise of individual conscience, and the safety of a monarchy may depend more upon blind personal obedience, and that is why in the centre of France the Huguenot assertion was held to contain an assertion of republicanism. The time was when the name Huguenot was a reproach, because it asserted something considered dangerous to the existing government of France. The name of Huguenot was held to imply republican, and, therefore, against the peace of France and those who lived under the spiritual and political despotism of that day could not brook men who held their consciences for themselves and claimed that they were not to be the blind instruments or followers of any priest or potentate; and that is why we who live in America find the same conscience that burnt itself into the hearts of the men of 1685 is the recognized glory and strength of to-day as it was by many deemed the shame and the weakness of those darker times. It is because the republicanism of the Huguenot, of those who meet here to-day, is the strength and the glory of the American Republic as it was once deemed to be a cause of danger to the French monarchy. That is why, as an American whose progenitors long before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes landed right here in the City of New York, and because I believe that the doctrines of civil and religious liberty of those men form to-day the great basis of security for the institutions under which we live, that I congratulate you upon your membership in the Society of the Huguenots of America. (Applause.) Therefore you can see it is not only a question of religious creed, for perhaps upon that we are allied; but, indeed, ladies and gentlemen, were that a question of difference, I will not say of oppositon in creed, I still should unite with those from whom I differ if we still came together upon the cardinal point that every human being should be allowed to follow their conscience, publicly or privately, and should be honored in accordance with their fidelity to their convictions of right. If we are agreed upon that, then I think we have reached the acme that the Huguenot faith was intended to secure; and what will that bring us to in this land of ours? Of all countries this is the land of opinion. We can frame what laws we will, and if they are not in accord with the popular conscience they will be worse than if they had never been passed, for they not only will be disregarded but they will be held in contempt; and yet we profess to live under a government of law. Now, I say the great safety for this country of ours and for the great experiment in

human government that it is intended to exemplify exists in this, that there shall be a spirit in this land that shall prompt men to speak the thing which, looking to heaven, they really believe, and which will prompt men to respect them just in accordance with the fact that they rest satisfied that it is the honest belief of the man who declares it. Am I understood? I mean this; we need free counsel; we need free speech; we need recognition and public respect for the right to both.' (Applause.)

Now, what is our foe? The fear of majorities. What is majority? The power of numbers. Gentlemen of the Huguenot Society, did our fathers stand in fear of power of any kind? Did they stand in fear of the power of the king or of his kingdom? There was a power even more concentrated than numbers. The kingly power has passed away, and to-day the danger that threatens America is the fear of her sons to declare their real opinions in opposition to dominant and unjust numerical majorities. (Applause.)

Now, friends, let me say this: There is nobility that is untitled. There is rank that is unprivileged. There is service that is unpaid. The pride I have in being allied to the Huguenot descendants is that they have no rank, that they have no privilege, and that they have no pay, except the knowledge that they have rendered service for the right. (Applause.) They can scarcely accuse us, under democratic institutions, of claiming rank or title. They can scarcely assail us if we ask the privilege of rendering unpaid service, and yet, if I understand the motives and purposes of this meeting and of this young society, it is nothing more than to strive to continue and carry forth in this year of grace, 1885, the same principles, the same ideas, if need be, to make the same sacrifices, to exhibit the same courage, the same virtues, as did the men and the women from whom we claim our descent, two hundred years ago. It may not lead to comfort, nor to place, nor to power, but it will lead to the same thing that we are met to pay our respect to to-night. It will lead to that which I hold to be the greatest enjoyment known to the human heart. It is the assertion, the fidelity to conscientious conviction. Any one who has ever felt it will discover that the more it is expressed, the closer you draw to it. The more it is denounced the more you cherish it. The lower it seems in the extremity of fortune the dearer it is to those who abide by it. (Applause). And thus the cause that seems lost is really won—and the supposed captive is found to be the actual conqueror.

I hardly know why I have been led into this strain, except that



yesterday and to-day, in coming here, I have been thinking over the event in the history which we have met to celebrate. We have chosen the anniversary of their humiliation. We have chosen the day when the right of every French Protestant to hold civil office and enjoy civil rights, was stricken down, and yet that is our day of rejoicing. There is a paradox in that, an apparent inconsistency. Why should we commemorate the day of the humiliation, the sorrow and the exile of those from whom we draw our names and our blood? Well, I suppose, because in an imperfect way we realize the completeness of divine compensation, and that so it always will be, and those who in seasons of darkness and distress, which may come at any time, shall still cling to the conviction that lies within their hearts, they will be certain of reward and ultimate triumph. This may seem a rather lachrymose way of expressing what is really intended to be a felicitation; but if I have succeeded in bringing to your mind something of the feeling that prompted me to come here I shall not have been wholly unsuccessful.

I have been concerned in the public affairs of this country for some time and am deeply interested in them, and I have come to believe that the best thing for the people of the United States will be to encourage and insist upon the principles that governed the Huguenots in 1685, and that would be this, never to hesitate, either individually or collectively, to follow conscience, regardless of kings or majorities. (Applause.)

MR. JAY: The last speaker has so completely exhausted the subject that little can be added to his remarks upon the theme which he has so eloquently treated. But we still hope to hear from Mr. Robert N. Gourdin, of Charleston, one of the delegates from South Carolina. I hope that Mr. Gourdin will be kind enough to tell us something of the Huguenot Church in Charleston which was founded immediately after the event this day commemorated, and which I believe is almost the only Huguenot Church in the country which has maintained the original character of its liturgy and service until the present time.

MR. GOURDIN:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Called upon to respond to the toast to your guests just announced from the chair, I am sure I express their feelings when I say that the cordial greeting extended them when we assembled this afternoon—the

reception given them a few hours later, honored and graced by the presence of many of your ladies ; and then, this banquet, where they have graciously met us again—all this kindness, all these marks of high consideration are, I am confident, as grateful to my associate delegates as they are to myself. We knew, of course, that we would be courteously received and that the coming together of the Huguenots of the United States in New York under the auspices of "The Huguenot Society of America," would be, as you have made it, an event ever to be remembered by those so fortunate as to be present ; but we did not anticipate the brilliant reception, nor did we imagine this munificent entertainment, with all the accessories which delight refined taste and impart keenest zest to social enjoyment.

The services in the "Church of the Holy Spirit"—("L'Eglise du Saint Esprit")—this banquet and the distinguished company around these tables, combine to establish the 22d of October, 1885, a memorable epoch in Huguenot history in the United States.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, we thank you for this abundant, this charming hospitality. But, Mr. Chairman, the delegates I represent have other reasons for acknowledgments to you and this company than those to which I have so inadequately referred. It is amazing that two centuries should have elapsed before the Huguenots of America organized societies to honor and perpetuate the memory of their ancestors.

You have organized the Huguenot Society of America for this pious work. We thank you that you have done this, and that you have stimulated other Huguenot communities to do likewise. The Protestant Reformation of the Sixteenth Century is the "driving wheel" which has impelled forward with ever-increasing velocity the civilization of the world. Its forces are felt to-day and will be felt in the world's affairs so long as the world lasts. The power of the Reformation was in and from an open Bible, never again to be shut against mankind. We have been reminded to-day of the splendid achievements of the Protestants of France in that great religious Revolution the initiatory work for the emancipation of the human mind from the dogmas and superstitions of ages.

Descendants of the Protestants of France, let us and our descendants never, never cease to honor and venerate our Huguenot ancestors who cast our homes in this land of civil and religious liberty, one of the splendid outgrowths of their glorious Reformation.

Having responded in behalf of the representatives of the Huguenot settlements in America present here to-day to your kind

sentiment, and having spoken of "The Huguenot Society of America," permit me, Mr. President, to refer to a subject touching more particularly the delegates from South Carolina.

Though here an ordinary delegate from the Society in our State, I feel that as President of the French Protestant Church of Charleston, I am also, in some sort, at least, the representative of that Church, and with your permission would speak of it to you and this company. I am encouraged to ask this kindness of you, because, if I do not misconceive the temper of this august assembly concerning every matter connected with Huguenot history, this church must have for you, as it has for us at home, especially for us who worship in it, a peculiar interest.

In the first place, this church should interest Huguenots everywhere in America, because it is the only church founded by our refugee ancestors on this Continent, two centuries ago, which survives to our time, having preserved the distinctive character of the "Reformed Church of France," holding to its confession of faith made and ordained at its first national synod in 1559, adhering to its system of government and order, and having the same liturgical worship.

In the next place, the history of the Huguenot Church of Charleston will be particularly interesting here to-day, because very pertinent to the occasion. That church is co-eval and is identified with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the momentous historical event we are met together from every quarter of this vast and great country to commemorate. It was planted where it stands, by refugees from the frightful atrocities which followed the annulment of Henry IVth's most righteous edict, with Elias Prioleau its first pastor—Elias Prioleau, pastor of the church at Pons, who saw the children of his church forced to Mass, some confined in convents, others delivered over to the nurture of Jesuits—Elias Prioleau, who witnessed the demolition of his church, and the cruel dispersion of his flock before his flight from France in 1686.

Is not the church in Charleston, then, emphatically the Church of the Revocation, founded as it was by refugees who began to arrive in the Province of Carolina only two months after its promulgation? And should this church be forgotten when we commemorate the monstrous act which brought it into being? Standing on its ancient foundation the only monumental witness in these United States, to-day, of the amazing folly and fanaticism of the French monarch on the 22d of October, 1685, the last ancestral and historical Hugue-

not Church in this country, its existence and history should be known throughout the land ; for where in this broad land does not Huguenot blood flow ? And what memorial of our Huguenot ancestors is so worthy of our veneration, aye of our love, as the church for which they suffered, for which they abandoned home and country and all their holy associations, than that church preserved among us in its entirety to this time, and still doing the pious work for which they planted it here.

Go with me, my friends, to this Huguenot Church in Charleston. At the corner of Church and Queen Streets, in an ancient cemetery with mouldering tombs and gravestones around it, stands this church ; its foundations are, I may say, co-eval with those of Charleston, so nearly so that the streets which bound it were still unnamed when they were laid ; our oldest public records describe one as "a Street running to the French Church." The present is not the church built by our refugee ancestors ; that was destroyed in 1796 to arrest a raging fire, was rebuilt, and this second edifice was replaced and enlarged by the church now there, some forty-two years ago, when our services were revived. The interior of this church is more imposing than the exterior would lead you to imagine. I cannot tell what produces this remarkable effect in a building so small. Whether it is the simplicity and chasteness of the architecture, with the lofty ceiling so skilfully arranged, at the eastern end of the church, over the communion table and sacred desk, with the organ back but above them ; whether it is the beautiful mural tablets commemorating the ancestors of several Huguenot families of our State, which impress you, or whether it be the combination of all these objects grouped within a single glance of the eye, as the opening door reveals the interior ; but so it is, you will be conscious as soon as within the walls of this church, that you have entered a place invested with no ordinary solemnity and interest.

Our worship is liturgical, and our prayer-book is a translation of Calvin's Geneva Liturgy of 1542 (edition of Neufchatel and Vallangin of 1737), which descended in the original to our time in the church.

We love this liturgy because we experience and feel its adaptedness to teach the truths and to impart the consolations of our Holy Religion. We venerate it because it is the most ancient liturgy of the Reformation extant, and because with Calvin's Strasburg Liturgy of a few years earlier date, it is the germ, in a greater or less degree, of the liturgies of all the Protestant Churches of the Reformation.

We love it and venerate it because its prayers are the appeals to God which made the Huguenots of France a righteous, holy, fearless, noble people. Men go to God in times of trouble. The reformers of the sixteenth century were under the heel of a mighty, a cruel adversary, and their tribulations were legion—were great and sore. Calvin's liturgy was the outgrowth of their sufferings. It was for a persecuted Church and people. Faith in God, dependence on God, are its key-notes. The 8th verse of the 124th Psalm, "Our help is in the name of the Lord who made heaven and earth," is the invocation which initiates all our services save the communion and burial service,\* and the prayers which follow are the outpourings of trusting, loving, submissive hearts before an Omnipotent Father and Friend. The communion with God in these prayers is inexpressibly tender, and in words so simple that a child may understand. And the confession of sin, the appeals for forgiveness of sin, for mercy, grace, guidance, and protection are direct to God, with no mediator but His Own dear Son between God and his children.

Originality of structure, as compared with the discarded Mass-Book of the Roman Church, and simplicity characterize our liturgy. Still, it includes prayers and thanksgivings familiar to the Christian Church for ages. You will find there St. Chrysostom's prayer, those grand old hymns, the *Te Deum* and the *Gloria in Excelsis*, with other rich inheritances from the early Church. There, too, of more modern date, is the "General Thanksgiving" of Bishop Reynolds, and the service for the Burial of the Dead from the "Book of Common Prayer." The earlier liturgies of the French Church had no burial service, and this was incorporated with ours in 1836, when our translation was completed and published. The French Protestant Church and the Baptist were the first Missionary Churches of the early years of the Province of Carolina. They were the first by many years which preached the Gospel in the wilderness beyond Charleston; the French, from their settlements on the Santee and at Orange Quarter in 1686, only a year after the Revocation; and a few years later from that near the head waters of the Cooper River.

Reference to this last settlement reminds me of an incident mentioned by Dalcho which it is pleasant to relate, and will not be out of place here. The Rev. Mr. Maule, a missionary to this neighbor-

---

\* "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," is the invocation in the Communion Service, and the Burial Service is taken from the "Book of Common Prayer."

hood in 1707, from "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," of London, found no English Church there, and "conducted Divine Service in the Church of the French Protestants by the invitation of its clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Truillard."

These settlements with their churches have long since disappeared, and their people scattered among other denominations. Of the four churches of our refugee ancestors in South Carolina, the church in Charleston alone survives. Its preservation, with its distinctive characteristics of organization and worship, has been difficult, but to preserve it has been a labor of love.

Perhaps a chief obstacle to its prosperity has been the persistent effort, until within the last fifty years, to maintain the worship in the French tongue in an English-speaking community, and dependence on a foreign country for competent pastors. Certain it is, our church has been more prosperous since the translation of the Liturgy in 1836, and the worship has been in English.

We have suffered by the late Civil War. Our church was damaged during the bombardment of Charleston, and the enormous tax levied on real estate after the war compelled the sale of our Glebe at ruinous prices. We were powerless to prevent the sacrifice and to avert the bitter sorrow which alienation of the ancient Glebe, the endowment of the Lord's proprietors in 1686, produced in the Church. Corporation and people were alike reduced by the war. Struggle to overcome the embarrassment entailed upon the Church by these untoward circumstances is still before us.

Almighty God has preserved this Church in its isolation for two centuries. We have faith that He will not now withdraw from it his protecting care.

MR. JAY : The next toast is: "The Kindred Huguenot Societies of Europe and America," which will be responded to by a gentleman thoroughly qualified to speak on the subject, the Rev. Dr. Henry M. Baird.

DR. BAIRD : Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : After the long and patient hearing which you gave me this afternoon, I do not feel inclined to trespass on your patience still further at this late hour, but the toast is one that comes so near my own heart that I must say a few words in acknowledgment of it in behalf of at least a few societies, the French Huguenot Historical Society, of which I have been a member for a score of years, and the Huguenot Society



of London. This pursuit of kindred studies is one of the strongest bonds and one of the most delightful I think in human society. My friend, the late Prof. Brown, in writing just before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, expressed himself in somewhat such terms as these, so far as I can recall them : " In the midst," he said, " of the military despotism with which the whole continent of Europe seems to be dominated by a fickle necessity, it is one of the greatest consolations that the republic of letters remains unassailed and that against it too the gates of hell shall not prevail, and by this republic of letters " (he went on to say) " I mean that great association of minds who believe that man does not live by material bread alone but by every word that cometh out of the mouth of the Lord." It is a delightful thing for us workers in this field of human history to think that the name Huguenot, and not the name only but Huguenot history, is near and dear to many hearts all over this globe. Why, it was only a few days ago that I received a letter, very unexpectedly, from the Cape of Good Hope, and from that letter I learned that not only had the Huguenots in that prosperous colony united in some sort of an association, priding themselves upon their ancestry and descent, but that they have a Huguenot school or college somewhere, much after the example of Mount Holyoke in America, and that they are about, partly in commemoration of the event we are celebrating and partly from other reasons, to establish a hall for which, indeed, an American gentleman, Mr. Goodlow Worcester, I believe, has given the funds, and the particular object of this letter, which was addressed to me, was that I should suggest to him some subjects of Huguenot history, with which the walls of that new hall should be adorned, say twenty, all the way back from the time of the first institution of the Reformation to the close of Protestantism as tolerated by law in France. I only mention this as an evidence how the feeling of interest in the Huguenots has pervaded the entire globe.

Now, just one word more, and I will only speak with reference to one of these societies, for the hour is late. I wish to call your attention to the French Protestant Historical Society, a society that has done more in this field than all the other societies together, and call your attention to two or three features in connection with it. One is its publication, its monthly bulletin, numbering from the beginning about 34 volumes, all of which are on my shelves. They are a treasure-house of original documents, as well as of monographs of various points in Huguenot history. The last number, which

came only yesterday, was a remarkably interesting one, and it contained, for instance, this (holding up a document), which perhaps even a glance at may be interesting. It is a facsimile of the edict which we have been calling to mind to-day, a facsimile which the French Government has allowed to be made of this document, which wrought so much evil, and has been the instrument of so much good to the world. Then I wish to mention, in the second place, the great stimulus which this society has given to the publication of historical works in France—works of the first importance. I hope that our societies in this country, both the society in New York and the society in Charleston, may be the means of stimulating the publication of a great many works not coming directly under its auspices and yet incited by its spirit. I call your attention to that magnificent library, a library which contains, if I am not mistaken, fifteen to eighteen thousand volumes, many of them of great rarity, and not only volumes, but a large collection of the most valuable manuscripts especially bearing upon the period succeeding the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes when Protestantism was externally suppressed, when the only preaching was this preaching to great multitudes, frequently every one of whom, as it were, carried his life in his hands when he attended those meetings on the desert hills. I call your attention to it, because I trust Americans going to France will testify their interest in the subject by visiting the library, which, I believe, is open twice every week. I only mention these facts in order to reply to the courteous toast you have extended to these our kindred societies of Europe and America. (Applause).

Mr. JAY : The next toast is: "The hospitable foreign lands which received with open arms our exiled ancestors two centuries ago." This toast was to have been responded to by Mr. Chauncey M. Depew, but since we sat down to-night we have received this telegram: "Unexpected and imperative business prevents my being with you. Profound regrets.—CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW."

I will now read some letters of regret that have been received. This is from Mr. Whittier, who, while a Quaker on his father's side, is Huguenot on his mother's side, and who preserves in the "Greenleaf" the name of his Huguenot ancestor, Feuillevert:

MY DEAR MR. JAY—It would give me great pleasure to write something for the commemoration of the 22d of October, but the state of my health compels me to decline all invitations of the kind. Under medical advice, I must refrain from

attempting everything which requires much effort of mind or body. It is barely possible that I may be able to send you something before the 22d of October.

I am, very faithfully,

Thy friend,

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

(Applause.)

*From General JOSHUA L. CHAMBERLAIN, of Maine.*

OCALA, FLORIDA, October 17, 1885.

*To the Honorable JOHN JAY, LL.D., President of the Huguenot Society of America*

DEAR SIR—I wrote you a week ago or more expressing the fear that I might not be able to participate with you, as I had anticipated, in the celebration of the anniversary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. As no response has been received, and as the mails between this place and the North have been much disturbed of late by the floods, I think my letter may not have reached you, and I feel disposed to send you another letter hoping that this may seasonably explain my absence.

A conjuncture of circumstances having suddenly arisen which detains me in Florida just at the time when I had expected to be in the North, will deprive me of the pleasure of joining with you in the services of that interesting occasion.

It is a profitable exercise to commemorate that illustrious exhibition of the spirit of liberty which this violent measure of a great king called to such tests, and to trace the wide and deep results with which that event of history was fraught.

The religious aspects of the case are well-known, and have contributed a powerful chapter to the history of the evangelical church. The damage inflicted upon France in the industries and arts of life by that act of government has often been pointed out.

But there is another view of the matter which appears to me worthy of interest and fruitful of lessons. The spirit of freedom and the talent for the political organization of free institutions, which characterized the Huguenot party in its earlier movements, was the best promise France had for the establishment of political liberty in a well-ordered Republic; and while this genius for organizing free institutions has been made to avail in behalf of other lands in which these unconquerable spirits found refuge, a reason may be found in this dispersion for a fact which appear so strange,—that after centuries of struggle France is still not secure of her Republic.

Situated as I am, I have been deprived of the opportunity of suitably pursuing this line of thought by historic investigations, or even of presenting these suggestions as I would; but I trust this topic may engage the attention of others better qualified to treat of it.

Assuring you of my sympathy and earnest wishes for the good results of your meeting,

I am, with high regard,

Your friend and servant,

JOSHUA L. CHAMBERLAIN.

*From Bishop QUINTARD.*

PHILADELPHIA, PA., 19th October, 1885.

*To the Honbl. JOHN JAY, New York :*

DEAR MR. JAY—I greatly regret that I shall be unable to attend the meeting of the Huguenot Society of America on the 22d. On that day I am to officiate at the marriage of my son in Washington, D. C.

I should be very glad to be present at the anniversary of our Society, if only to testify by my presence the deep interest I feel in its success. The times when our forefathers left their native land were violent and dismembered. They were dispersed abroad, and their history in this new world attests how "the Tabernacle of the Almighty" did go before them. They were brave-hearted and true—they were of the very flower of France—and their descendants have been among the foremost in all material and moral advancement in our country.

I greatly rejoice that the Huguenots of America have at length an organization that will perpetuate the history of the noble lives and struggles of the Huguenot settlers on this continent.

If I might be permitted, I should like to suggest that the Society adopt some badge which might be worn by the members on public occasions.

I am, dear Mr. Jay,

Yours, with all cordial good wishes,

CHARLES TODD QUINTARD,

*Bishop of Tennessee.*

*From Mr. WASHBURN, late U. S. Minister to France.*

365 DEARBORN AVENUE,  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, October 17, 1885. }

MY DEAR MR. JAY—I had hoped, up to within a few days, that my wife and I would be able to attend the Huguenot dinner in New York City on the 22d instant. We have been spending the Summer in Maine, but circumstances made it imperative that we should return home a few days since. It now being impossible for us to return East so soon, I can hardly tell you what a disappointment it is, both to my wife and myself. Mrs. Washburne is of pure Huguenot blood, on the side of her father, Colonel Henry Gratiot. Her great-grandfather, Charles Gratiot, was expelled from La Rochelle in France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Her grandfather, Charles Gratiot, was one of the founders of St. Louis, and one of its most enterprising and distinguished citizens. She feels a just pride in her Huguenot blood, and in which I fully participate.

It would have given us both the greatest possible pleasure to have been with you on the occasion of your dinner, to testify by our presence how dearly we cherish the memory of the Huguenots.

Yours, very truly,

W. E. WASHBURN.

Hon. JOHN JAY.

*From the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP.*

BROOKLINE, MASS., 15th October, 1885.

*The Honble. JOHN JAY, Prest., &c., &c.*

MY DEAR SIR—The 22d is approaching, and I must not longer postpone an answer to your kind invitation in behalf of the Huguenot Society of America. I wish I could make it an affirmative answer, and thus look forward to being with you at so interesting a celebration. Let me not speak of it, however, as a *celebration*. The day is long past when the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes can be the subject of anything but condemnation in any part of the Christian world. We may commemorate but we cannot celebrate it, and its 200th anniversary can excite no emotions but those of sorrow and reprobation.

Yet you and I, my dear sir, with the ten thousands of other Americans in all quarters of the United States, who are proud of their Huguenot blood, may well look back complacently on a course of events which brought over our progenitors, whether paternal or maternal, to these American shores. For myself, certainly, I cannot fail to rejoice that Pierre Baudouin was forced to fly from La Rochelle in 1685, that two years afterwards he arrived safely in New England, and that sons and grandsons and great-grandsons have perpetuated his family name in the high places of Massachusetts, and have affixed it to a noble institution of learning in Maine. As one of his lineal descendents, I would not revoke the Revocation which has had such a result.

In the merciful providence of God, the bigotry and cruelty of Louis XIV. and his Ministers were overruled for great good the world over. Vast numbers of worthy Frenchmen were, indeed, the victims of persecution and massacre. But those who escaped the Dragonnades carried arts and excellences of all kinds into many other lands, and not a few of the most distinguished patriots of our own Revolutionary era trace back their lineage to those French refugees. French blood, mingling with that of Old England, in American veins, has wrought wonders for our prosperity and our freedom. How could we have spared from our historic roll the Laurenses and Marions, the Boudinots and Bayards and Bowdoin, John Jay of New York, and Peter Faneuil of the Cradle of Liberty!

In no spirit of hostility to France, then, do we recall the 22d of October, 1685, but rather in a spirit of love for the land from which, in spite of the intolerance of its Grand Monarque, we have derived, in later days, so much that has been vital to our welfare and honor.

I am glad that an American Huguenot Society has been organized under your auspices, and I thank you for including me on your roll of Vice-Presidents. Accept my best wishes for the Society and for yourself, with my regrets that I cannot offer them in person.

Believe me, dear Mr. Jay,

Very faithfully,

Your friend and servant,

ROBT. C. WINTHROP.

MR. JAY: The next toast is: "The influence of the Huguenots in philanthropic work in America," which will be responded to by Mr. Gallaudet, whose name has been connected for generations with the Institute for Deaf Mutes in Washington.

PRESIDENT GALLAUDET: You will allow me to correct a slight error. I have not been connected with the institute for generations. (Laughter.)

During the day, in all the very interesting exercises at the church this afternoon, and at our social, intellectual gathering here, at this hour, I have been reaching out for some clear, sharp cut statement of the objects of our association. We are a young association, and we may not have quite clearly in our minds just all that the objects of the association includes and means; but I think, Mr. President, that I get the suggestion of it from the admirable speech of our honored Secretary of State, and if he will allow me I will endeavor to put in a few words what has come to me as the suggestion conveyed by his glowing words relating to the object of our organization. If I understand it correctly, Mr. President, it is that we who are of Huguenot blood are to study and emulate the Huguenot spirit. Happily for the furtherance of this object, at least in one of its essential aspects the patient labors of our honored and distinguished orator to-day and his no less distinguished brother have placed us *en rapport* with those whose noble souls preferred death or exile to a violation of their conscience. But our studies, Mr. President—and we have but to read the pages of the brothers Baird to come into close sympathy with the Huguenot spirit of two hundred years ago—but our studies are not to end with the history of the Seventeenth Century. We are to follow the children of the early heroes as they have lived and labored in this and other lands and discover, if we can, what they have done to prove their right to the name which we now hold so dear. I have been requested, Mr. President and members of the Society, in responding to the sentiment which has just been read to recount the public labors of one of these Huguenot children whose life gave abundant proof that the spirit of his ancestors had lost nothing of its nobility in its descent through three generations. Among the earliest settlers of New Rochelle was one named Pierre Elisé Gallaudet, of whom little is known save that he married Margaret Creyot, a daughter of Elisé Creyot and cousin of Elisé Creyot, first pastor of the venerable French Church at Charleston, these Creyots being descendants of the ninety-fourth



Doge of Venice. It is in regard to the life and its influence upon philanthropic efforts in America of the great-grandson of this early emigrant from Old to New Rochelle that I venture to direct your attention for a few moments.

Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet was born in Philadelphia near the end of the year 1787. On his mother's side he was a direct descendant from the Reverend Thomas Cumo, first pastor of the first Church of Christ in America and, of the Hopkinses, the broad-brimmed cap of one of whom figures in the picture with which we are all familiar of the declaration of our national independence. This Italian, Puritan, Quaker Huguenot graduated from Yale College with distinction at the age of seventeen. The ten years following his graduation were divided between work as tutor at college, some attention to business, the study of law and finally a preparation at Andover, Mass., for the Gospel ministry. At the point of entering upon what he supposed would be the work of his life he became greatly interested in the deplorable condition of the uneducated deaf mute child of an intimate friend in Hartford. So intense was this interest that shortly he laid aside all previously arranged plans and betook himself to Europe that he might prepare himself to be qualified to conduct a school for the deaf.

Returning to Hartford in 1816 and securing the co-operation of benevolent individuals and of the State, he established the first school for deaf mutes in America. It is not easy for us in this day of princely benefactions for educational and eleemosynary purposes, when the education of the deaf, blind and imbecile are everywhere provided for, with asylums for the insane, institutions for the reformation of juvenile criminals, hospitals for the care of the sick, and the score of other benevolent enterprises which exist in every community, it is not easy for us to appreciate the difficulties which Dr. Gallaudet was compelled to overcome in the establishment of this school for deaf mutes. No charitable institutions existed, save a small hospital for the insane in Virginia in the year 1817, in this country, unless indeed almshouses could be spoken of as such. "Reckless extravagance," "Quixotic undertakings," "perfectly impracticable," were terms frequently used by men in prominent positions in reference to this enterprise of Dr. Gallaudet. But his Huguenot spirit surmounted every difficulty and lived down all prejudice, and his marvelous magnetism enlisted the sympathies and co-operation not only of private citizens, but of State Governors and of even the Congress of the United States, so that within two

years from the date of the foundation of this school in Hartford not only were funds provided ample for all current needs, but the institution was munificently endowed for all time to come with funds which, without being added to, stood at that time and stand to-day as upwards of three hundred thousand dollars. (Applause.) The establishment of the School for the Deaf in Hartford may be spoken of as giving the inspiration to all organized benevolent efforts in this country. The year following a school of a similar character was established in New York, an institution for the care of the insane in Pennsylvania, and one in Massachusetts, and very speedily there followed other benevolent institutions, until within a few years the United States took that position which she holds to-day of being in the front rank of the nations of the earth in institutions of benevolence. (Applause.) If the work of Dr. Gallaudet in behalf of philanthropy in America had been limited to the establishment of the school in Hartford it would have been right to have spoken of him as the practical pioneer, if not the father, of all systematic philanthropic efforts in this country; but his claim to that title rested on a much broader basis. After giving twelve years of his life to the children's asylums he turned his energies to other channels. As a writer of books especially designed for the young he was among the first in this country, and his "Child's Book of the Soul," with the Scripture biographies translated in many languages, exerted a widespread influence. He was invited and urged to organize and take charge of a school for the blind. He was concerned in promoting the establishment of the first normal schools. He was the first to undertake this delicate task long before the establishment of any schools for their care. In 1818, in connection with the work of this school—for he then devoted quite a period of his life to the active promotion of the cause of sound education in the West at a time when such work was of paramount importance in these new communities then being formed beyond the Alleghenies—he prepared a scheme and submitted it to his friends for the establishment of an inebriate asylum long in advance of the actual bringing into being of any institution of that character, and toward the close of his life he was the first to suggest for the comfort of the insane the solace of religious exercises, and became himself the chaplain, towards the closing year of his life, of the retreat for the insane in Hartford. Small in stature, delicately and sensitively organized, always more or less of an invalid, he did not hesitate to assume the responsibility and to carry burdens that would have

staggered many a man of strong physique. Of rare intellectual qualities and of good business capacity, he declined to seek that wealth and distinction which he might easily have secured. The dauntless spirit of his life was one of entire self-sacrifice, of the broadest charity to men of all classes and of all creeds.

Dr. Gallaudet was prouder of his Huguenot ancestry than of any other, and no descendant of the Psalm Singers of France was ever or could ever be more earnest than he in the study, in the honor, in the emulation of the Huguenot spirit. (Applause.)

Mr. President, I have endeavored to give you very briefly the picture of the influence of one Huguenot. Your toast called for the influence of the Huguenots on philanthropic work in America. I have tried to give you a relation of the influence of one man. I trust that in the future this society may be the means of bringing out and showing to the world many, many pictures of the life-work of these Huguenot children, the descendants of our fathers, who have lived in this and other lands and done honor to their name. (Applause.)

MR. JAY : Ladies and Gentlemen—The next toast is : “The Union of the French and the Dutch in New Netherlands and New York,” and will be responded to, we hope, by Mr. de Peyster, in whose veins flows the best blood of both races.

MR. DE PEYSTER : Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—“The Union of the French and Dutch in New Netherlands and New York.” I feel a great interest in this toast and some diffidence in responding to it ; quite a weight on my young shoulders. But there is a line in Mr. Winthrop’s letter that stings me. I see he speaks of the great influence the Huguenot blood has had in America for good when mingled with English blood. I have a fancy that our Huguenot blood has never worked so well as when it is mingled with Dutch blood ; and as a Steward of the St. Nicholas Society, I propose to say a word on that subject to-night.

We are here to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes ; but the toast would be absurd were it not that there were Huguenots in New York long before that revocation. The distinguished gentleman on your right (Mr. Bayard) called my attention to the fact, if it were necessary to call it, that Peter Stuyvesant never showed his good sense in a more conspicuous manner than when he selected a lady of the best Huguenot race as his partner in life. Peter Stuyvesant never did a wiser act

than when he gave his sister to a gentleman of the same race, and I fancy the gentleman on Mr. Jay's right will not gainsay me when I add that in sending Bayard to Delaware he did another and a third very wise act. I do not wish any Huguenot to forget for a moment that in the honor of settling New York, New Jersey and Delaware, three of the thirteen original States, the French Huguenots of the earliest immigration had almost as large a share as the Dutch themselves. From the day that Stuyvesant landed in New York, bringing with him a large band of Huguenots, down to our great Revolution, there never was a time when the Huguenot and the Hollander did not rule New York, New Jersey and Delaware. To-day we have heard a great deal of eulogy of the Huguenots; I think they deserve it, but it sometimes occurs to me that it would be as well to see what others think of us. I am reminded now of those lines of Burns—

“ O wad some power the giftie gie us  
To see oursel's as ithers see us ;  
It wad frae monie a blunder free us  
And foolish notion.”

And there is just one phrase of Burke's I never could forget, if you want to know your fame and perhaps your strength, that gives you the key-note—“Our adversary is our helper.” If the Frenchman of 250 years ago had an enemy, he was an Englishman. If the Hollander of the times of De Ruyter had a bitter enemy he, too, was an Englishman. The French were anything but popular in England after the victories of Condé and Turenne. The English could not forget the loss of Calais. Now it is curious to see what our English enemies said at that time. According to them the French and the Dutch had opposite faults. The Frenchman was too graceful, eloquent, vain-glorious, and changeable. The Dutchman too silent, morose and obstinate. If, then, the doctrine that opposite forces neutralize each other be as true in the matter of hereditary traits as in mechanics, French faults and Dutch faults must balance each other so well that those of us who are descended from both races, must possess every virtue of which ever Plato dreamed. (Applause.)

If the Knickerbocker of the United States is ever assailed in any political campaign, I will cheerfully and freely defend him myself, and give him a certificate on the best English authority that the faults of his two blended races just meet and neutralize. (Applause.)

Well, sir, time has gone on. England is no longer jealous of the Huguenot. She can afford to do him justice. England and

New England too, are no longer jealous of little Holland, and hardly jealous of the mere handful of Dutch descendants on this island. To-day the most brilliant eulogium ever written on Holland is from an American, the historian Motley, while Old England and New England agree in praising to the skies both Huguenot and Hollander.

I think we may safely say, that if the ancient Greeks and Romans were right, if Fortune be indeed a goddess, if nothing succeeds like success, that then those good Huguenots and Hollanders who founded Delaware, New Jersey and New York were among the most fortunate of mortals surely, for no enterprise in all history, either ancient or modern, has been followed with greater success than theirs, and it was an enterprise that depended wholly upon their sinking all race hatred between Frenchmen and Hollanders, the children of distinct and hostile nations. The one was of the Latin race, the other of the Germanic. Holland and France had been over and over again at swords' points; but here, in the New Netherlands, the Hollander and the Huguenot forgot all differences and joined hands in their love of civil and religious liberty to build up on this island of Manhattan first, then in the Hudson River Valley, then in New Jersey and Delaware, States open to all races and to all creeds, where persecution was unknown. Huguenot and Hollander were alike loyal to free, tolerant, hospitable, Republican Holland. For the Hollander to be loyal to his glorious native land was but natural, but in Holland the Huguenot beheld the land to which he owed, not only his liberty and his life, but the honor and the lives of his wife and children. Well might he love her! She was his ark of refuge in the darkest hour of his despair. No wonder he joined hands with the Hollander. If you would know how much we owe to the cordial union of the two races, you have only to look at the condition of the Balkan Peninsula at this moment, that fairest portion of Europe. Take Salonica, for instance. There you have Servians living in one quarter, and Armenians in another, and Bulgarians in a third, and Greeks in a fourth, and Roumanians in a fifth. I leave out the Turks; but there are five hostile camps in one city, of men all calling themselves Christians, and all animated by the bitterest hatred of each other. No wonder it was possible for a handful of Turks to conquer the whole peninsula. Here, on this island of Manhattan, the Latin race and the Germanic race joined hand in hand. Race hatreds were forgotten. Two hundred and fifty years ago the ancestors of our friend on the right of the



President (Mr. Bayard), of many of the families here present, of the Stuyvesants, of my family, and of many others, landed on this soil, and in those two hundred and fifty years, while the Huguenots and Hollanders have quarrelled often with settlers from New England and Old England, there has never been a quarrel between French and Dutch families. Absolute peace has reigned between them. (Applause.) For two hundred and fifty years the descendants of the Huguenots and Hollanders have worked for the interests of this city, of this State, and of the neighboring States of New Jersey and Delaware. But in this part of the world they have done very little in politics since the days of the Republic. It is seldom now that you hear of an old New York name in Washington. When we do hear of one, I must say, that he who bears it holds the highest place, and it is well for the country that he is thus trusted. It is still more seldom that we hear the old names at Albany, and happen what may, they never echo in the City Hall. (Applause.) A stranger in New York might believe the old race extinct; but, if he looks deeper, he will find that they are not only absent from political positions in this city, but that they are also absent from another class of public institutions. You may search in vain for them through the prisons. In Auburn and Sing Sing and Blackwell's Island you will not find a single Knickerbocker name. (Applause.) New York has suffered much from misgovernment; much from the misgovernment of public and private institutions. Every now and then a bank cashier absconds or a railroad is wrecked; but, sir, whether it is a public or a private institution, the trouble does not come from the descendants of the Huguenots and the Hollanders. The most conspicuous trouble of recent years, which occurred, I think, fourteen years ago, was caused by men who bore names, none of which were Knickerbocker. Tweed, Sweeny and Connolly have not the ring of old New York, while Fisk was an exotic from pious, Puritan New England. (Applause.) Now, then, as we are conspicuous neither in politics nor in prisons, what has become of us? I think we are doing something still. I cannot see a railroad well managed, a bank well managed, but what I find either a Huguenot or a Hollander, sometimes a mixture of both, at the helm; and our charities, our literary institutions, our schools, our churches, our libraries and our hospitals—all that unpaid service of which our guest spoke, is done by the descendants of the Huguenots and the Hollanders. (Applause.) The old spirit lives in the old stock yet. It lives in the bosoms of many of the New Englanders and of the old English



settlers too. But it burns nowhere more brightly than in the old Huguenot and Holland stock.

I wish to give you another quotation from an adversary. I heard the late Charles O'Connor say, on one of his last visits to this city : " I have lived here in New York among the old New Yorkers for over seventy years. I am an alien to their race, and an opponent of their religion, and yet I must add that I have never known one of them who was a coward, never one of them who did a mean action." (Applause.) To my eyes, that is the toast ; that means the union of the French and the Dutch in New Netherland and New York. New Netherland, that is New York, New Jersey and Delaware, the two races founded them together ; together they taught those three States the watchwords of liberty for themselves and toleration for others. A great many people understand liberty for themselves. It is remarkable how few understand toleration for others. Here first in the New World that great truth, "toleration for others," was taught and exemplified by action. The Huguenot and the Hollander taught those three young provinces and this infant city that lesson so well that in all the two centuries and a half that have rolled by since, those three provinces and this city have never forgotten the great teaching. Yet the men who served the three States, our nation itself and this city so well, are all but forgotten on Manhattan Island to-day. Our Central Park, and the smaller parks as well, are dotted over with statues—many of them statues of men whose lives had very little to do with either America or New York—but in no corner of this city does bronze or marble commemorate the names and the virtues of one of the sturdy Huguenots and Hollanders who united to found it.

Sir, while this their city, and their three States, keeping to the watchwords of Liberty and Toleration, go on flourishing and to flourish, those brave and good men need neither bronze nor marble to render them immortal—they have already four of the noblest monuments in the world, the free States of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and this imperial city. (Applause.)

MR. JAY: The next toast, ladies and gentlemen, " The Huguenots in America, ever among the first in all that has made her great," will be responded to by the Honorable Mr. Olney.

MR. OLNEY : Mr. President and Gentlemen—I will ask you to kindly put it to the vote of the meeting whether, at this late hour, a

response shall be made to this toast, as I fear that that unthinking and all-powerful majority against which the eloquent Secretary of State has inveighed, would object to a response, at this late hour, to this sentiment.

Mr. Jay put the question to the guests whether or not Mr. Olney should be heard in response to the toast, and it was unanimously decided in the affirmative.

MR. OLNEY: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—I comply with your invitation, but fear you may regret your choice. However, I feel it a great honor to be called upon to respond to this toast, and especially here at this meeting and dinner of the Huguenot Society of America. Mr. President, a learned writer has said that of all the immigrants who came to America the French Huguenots, wherever they settled, were noted for their “severe morality, their great charity, their politeness and elegance of manners.” For my part, I am sure the learned writer should have added to that catalogue the virtue of *great modesty*; for that virtue, inseparable from true politeness, shines conspicuous in the words which the toast master has chosen in the toast to which I have the honor to respond—“The Huguenots in America, ever *among* the first in all that has made her great.” If, Mr. President, there were gathered the descendants of the Puritans of New England, the Friendly sons of St. Patrick, or those close friends of the Huguenots for many generations, the genial sons of St. Nicholas, around this festive board to celebrate the virtues and honors of their ancestors, without doubt the modest words “ever *among* the first in all that has made her great” would have been exchanged for the words “*foremost* in all that has made America great.” While for many years the descendants of the nations and the creeds who first settled America have caused the praises of their ancestors to resound throughout the length and breadth of the land, it is only within the last two or three years that this Huguenot Society of America was founded to commemorate the virtues of our Huguenot fathers. (Applause.) All these things are beginning to change. Progress is being made. The American people are beginning to find out who and what the Huguenots are and have been; that they felled the virgin forests, that they exterminated the savages, that they fought the *French* and Indian war, that they succeeded in establishing our Independence; that, in fact, during all the time that this great nation has supposed that the

English and the Dutch and the recent emigrations from the Emerald Isle and from Germany had made this country great, it is discovered that, after all, it was the Huguenots who were the authors of all this greatness ! (Applause.)

But seriously, Mr. President, one reason, perhaps, for the state of affairs which has existed in this regard in times past, one explanation of this state of things, may perhaps be found in the fact that the Huguenot refugees wherever they have settled, whether in Holland, in Prussia, in England or in any of the colonies of North America, soon thoroughly identified themselves with their fellow-citizens and became warmly attached to the institutions of their adopted country, always, however, preserving wherever they went their love and devotion to the principles of civil and religious liberty. And this trait in their character was perhaps unconsciously foretold in a humorous squib of an English writer published at about the time of the great immigration of the Huguenots to England. This squib ran thus—the writer was speaking of the great number of French immigrants that were crowding into England :

“ In every port they plant their faithful train  
 “ To get a race of true born Englishmen,  
 “ Whose children will, when riper years they see,  
 “ Be as ill-natured and as proud as we,  
 “ Call themselves English, foreigners despise,  
 “ Be rarely like us and just as wise !”

And so, Mr. President, the Huguenots, when they came to America, soon became a loyal and a component part of one homogeneous people. Their union with the Puritans in Massachusetts, served, we may well believe, to mitigate the asperities of the Puritan character and to introduce some of the gayety and vivacity of their race into the rather sombre and gloomy lives of the Puritan fathers and their descendants. We have all heard from the eloquent remarks of the gentleman who last addressed you with what facility the Huguenots united with the Dutch here on this spot, and history tells us that the Huguenots who went to Virginia and South Carolina were received with open arms by the English settlers who had already made their immigration there, and that they soon in the country they had adopted, prospered and became useful and prominent citizens. It has also been said that the Huguenots were noted for their great charity, and by this I understand, not charity in the narrow signification merely of alms-giving, but charity which means that broad, liberal, catholic spirit that tempers justice with mercy,

that passes righteous and merciful judgment upon the conduct, upon the lives, upon the failings and upon the opinions of one's neighbors. Now, for that charity it seems to me the Huguenots were distinguished. Asking for themselves religious toleration, they freely granted it to others ; and I have yet to find it recorded anywhere in history that the Huguenots, or their descendants who fled to America for liberty of conscience, ever prosecuted their neighbors in the name of religion. (Applause.) It is also greatly to the credit of the Huguenots as a sect that early in the seventeenth century, at a time when religious toleration was practically unknown, their theologians, in France, declared that salvation was not restricted to either the Protestant or to the Catholic Church ; and a learned French historian states that this admission was one of the reasons why the French reformed church, which, at one time, is said to have embraced one-third of the noblesse of the realm, lost nearly all that class of members. When it was promulgated by the pastors and theologians of the French reformed church that salvation was possible in the Roman Catholic Church, a truth which of course is now universally recognized, many men of rank, and of ambition, all the so-called worldly-minded, became converted to the Roman Catholic religion. It is a well-known historical fact, that at the time of the Revocation, the French Huguenots had for the most part in their hands a large share of the manufactures and commerce of the realm ; and we find that they brought here to America the same habits of enterprise, of commercial honor, of frugality that they had practiced in their own land, and the result was that in the early colonial times, in Boston, in Providence, in New York, in Charleston, we find the Huguenot foremost in the land for commercial enterprise and prosperity. We also find that early in the colonial history they played a prominent part and exercised their fair influence upon the public affairs of the colonies. Among those distinguished in colonial times for their enterprise and ability, were the Huguenot names of Bermon, Bowdoin, Fanueil, De Lancey, Laurens, and others ; and coming to the period of the Revolution, we know that the descendants of the Huguenots contributed both to the army and to the councils of the nation their fair share of enterprise, of courage and of wisdom. Among the brave soldiers of the Republic at that time are the illustrious names of Marion, Huger, Bayard, the younger Laurens, and many other descendants of Huguenots who won distinction on the battle-field. It is well known to you all that of the seven Presidents of the old Continental Congress, three were not only descendants of

Huguenots but bore Huguenot names—Henry Laurens, John Jay and Elias Boudinot, and of the four commissioners who signed that memorable treaty of Paris in November, 1782, which acknowledged and assured the independence of the United States, there were with Franklin and Adams two Huguenots or descendants of Huguenots, Henry Laurens and John Jay. (Applause.) Were it not for the modesty which at all times, as I said, has characterized the Huguenots, they might well claim that, in proportion to the numbers of their immigration to this country they have contributed more than their fair share to the glory and the honor and the renown of their adopted land. (Applause.)

MR. JAY : Ladies and gentlemen, the next speech of the evening will be made by the Hon. Mr. Clearwater.

MR. CLEARWATER : Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—That modesty which is characteristic of the Huguenot and of which my friend has so eloquently spoken, prevents the distinguished President of our Society from proposing the toast which I now offer—“The Huguenot Society of America, formed to preserve Huguenot history in the Western World, cherish Huguenot virtues and unite in the bonds of friendship the descendants of French Protestants throughout this great nation”—and while we trust we are not altogether destitute of that virtue of which our President possesses a superabundance, I feel we may be pardoned the wish that our Society may flourish until the arrival of the Greek Kalends. You have listened to the praises of the Huguenots to-day and to-night, until possibly some of you have come to sympathize with those Athenians who became weary of hearing Aristides called the Just ; but you will remember that this is our first dinner, and those of you who live to partake of our semi-centennial repast—we trust you all will—will think we kissed the Blarney stone but lightly here to-night. We who shared pot-luck with the Dutchmen in February last, left this banquetting hall with the impression that the Dutch had captured not Holland alone, but all the rest of creation ; and I am informed by our Secretary, who has carefully and scientifically investigated the subject, that the bump of approbateness in the skull of the average descendant of a Huguenot is much larger than in that of any Simon Pure Hollander.

Assembled in the most elegant resort of the metropolis of the Republic, we cannot but contrast our sumptuous surroundings and

the pleasures enjoyed by us with the appalling perils confronting our ancestors two centuries ago to-night, and it was that we might together praise the virtues displayed by them, their courage, their heroism, their fortitude, their love of truth, their honesty, their industry, their frugality, their simplicity of character and their modesty, that the Huguenot Society of America was formed. By reason of their demand that they have the rights guaranteed them by their great Charter, the Edict of January, rights, of which as was justly said by the orator of to-day, the Edict of Nantes was but the crystallization, and the chief of which was a free and open Bible, they became exiles among strangers, in strange lands, and we would be but degenerate posterity of an illustrious ancestry, did we not carefully preserve the history of their movements, the traditions of their suffering, and fondly cherish the virtues which made their lives heroic and their names immortal. All history demonstrates the importance of organizations such as ours. The most ambitious efforts of man to perpetuate material evidence of his greatness survive but to mock him with their frailty. The temples of Isis and Osiris have disappeared beneath the sifting sands of the Nubian wastes. The stately palaces of the Assyrian Kings and the impregnable walls which made Nineveh, the exceeding great city of the Hebrew prophets' day, have vanished from the Aturian plain. The voluptuous gardens which lent an added charm to the wanton magnificence of Babylon, have disappeared beneath the sifting dust of centuries. The lonely fisherman dries his net where the sculptured marble that once adorned the magnificent villas of the merchant princes of Tyre lies crumbling in the strand, and the steed of the wandering Bedaween browses on the scanty herbage that covers the deserted spot where lovely Sidon stood—but the memory of heroic action never dies, and the tradition of the sacrifices made, the sufferings endured and the fortitude displayed by the Huguenots of France will outlast the narratives carefully moulded upon mysterious cylinders of Phœnician clay and laboriously inscribed upon the stupendous obelisks and sepulchres of Egyptian kings. (Applause.)

The assembly then separated, being highly pleased with the proceedings of the evening.













